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THE HISTORY OF THE

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VOL. XVII.

BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY OF CENTRAL ASIA.

EDINBURGH:

THOMAS CLARK, 38. GEORGE STREET;

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THE
BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF
CENTRAL ASIA:

WITH
A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SACRED
GEOGRAPHY, INCLUDING THE ANTEDILUVIAN PERIOD.

✓ BY THE LATE

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UNIVERSITY OF LEIPSIC.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, BY THE

REV. N. MORREN, A. M.

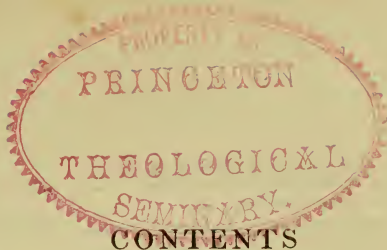
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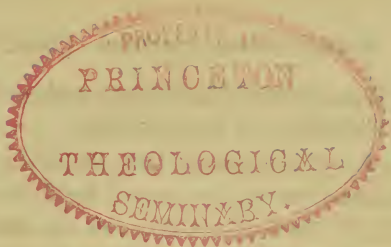


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CHAPTER VIII.

BABYLONIA AND CHALDÆA.

ANCIENT Babylonia,¹ the modern Babylonian or Arabian Irak,² constituting the pashalic of Bagdad, comprises that tract of country inclosed between the Euphrates and Tigris, which is bounded on the north by Mesopotamia and Assyria, and on the south by the Persian Gulf. That gulf was the only fixed and natural limit of ancient Babylonia. Towards the north, or Mesopotamia and Assyria; towards the east, or Persia [Farsistan] and Susiana; and towards the west, or Arabia Petræa and Deserta, the boundaries were less clearly defined. It is certain, however, that both in former and later times, tracts more or less extensive on the east bank of the Tigris, and the west bank of the Euphrates, and on both sides of the united stream of those rivers (called by the ancients Pasitigris, by the

moderns Shat-el-Arab) have been reckoned to belong to Babylonia, or Irak-el-Arab.

The south-western part of Babylonia lying towards Arabia Deserta, is termed by Jeremiah (chap. xxiv. 5 ; xxv. 12 ; l. 8), and by Ezekiel (chap. xii. 13 ; xxi. 27), *the land of the Chaldæans*, or *Chaldæa* ;³ not that it was the original seat of that people, but, as we shall afterwards see, a colony of them was transplanted thither by the Assyrians. Commonly, however, the names Chaldæa and Babylonia are used interchangeably, inasmuch as at an after period, the Chaldæans came into possession of the whole country. The oldest name of the region is *Shinhar* or *Shingar*,⁴ (generally pronounced Shinar.^a) For in Gen. x. 10, it is said, that Nimrod built, besides certain other towns, Babel, “in the land of Shinar,” where that city is also described as situated in Gen. xi. 2, 4. According to Dan. i. 1, 2, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babel, caused the vessels of the temple of Jerusalem to be carried away to the temple of his own god, “in the land of Shinar.” When Isaiah, in the title of a prophecy, foretelling the overthrow of this kingdom, (chap. xxi. 1) styles it “the desert or plain of the sea,”⁵ his language is to be regarded as a poetical or symbolical delineation of Babylon, drawn probably from the circumstance, that previously to the construction of dams by Semiramis, the plain on which lay the metropolis, became, at the perio-

^a By the Germans called *Sincar*.—M.

dical overflowing of the Euphrates, a vast sheet of water like a sea, whence the whole country came to be designated by that name.⁶

Babylonia is one extensive plain,⁷ unbroken by a single hill. The soil consists of a brown, rich loam, and receives the yearly inundations of the two rivers which traverse the country,⁸ the Euphrates on the west, and the Tigris on the east, but more especially the former, its banks being lower and flatter than those of the Tigris. These copious floods compelled the earlier inhabitants to lead off the accumulating waters, and so diffuse them over the whole country, that the more arid tracts were irrigated and fertilized. Hence, the whole of Babylonia became intersected by a number of larger and smaller canals, some of which crossed the country in its entire breadth from one river to the other, while others were gradually lost in the interior.⁹ These canals seem to be intended in Ps. cxxxvii. 1, by "the rivers of Babel."¹⁰ The most considerable of them were—the king's river (*Nahar Malca*,¹¹) which was navigable, and being led off from the Euphrates, ran into the Tigris far to the south-east; the *Pallacopas*, another branch of the Euphrates, eight hundred stadia south-west of Babylon, which fell into a lake it had formed on the borders of Arabia;¹² and the *Maarsares*, likewise an artificial outlet to the Euphrates, which, after running parallel to that river

for a considerable distance, again rejoined it.¹³ Of one or other of the two last-mentioned canals, which went from the Euphrates westward towards Arabia, the remains are thought still to exist in the dry channel of the Djari-Zaad,¹⁴ which, according to the tradition of the Arabs, was in ancient times lined with rows of trees, and sent forth a number of branches to water and fructify the surrounding country. Perhaps this is the river Sud,¹⁵ mentioned in the apocryphal book of Baruch (chap. i. 4), upon which was a settlement of the Jews, who had been transported to Babylonia. Besides the great number of canals, of which no trace can be now found, there were several large lakes, which were partly formed by art, and partly by the inundations of the two great rivers. The largest of them is described by Herodotus,^{16a} as the work of Queen Nitocris. It lay in the north of the country, at a considerable distance above the metropolis, and was from forty to fifty miles^a in circuit. The bitumen with which the district abounds, served for the construction of the dams on the river; but this lake was surrounded with a stone wall. About ninety miles below Babylon, on the west bank of the Euphrates, there were low marshy tracts,^{16b} which extended far into the Desert of Arabia. Babylonia might therefore be regarded as a well-watered region, and Jeremiah might correctly

^a Herodotus has "420 stadia."—M.

say of it (chap. li. 13,) that *it lay upon many and great waters.*¹⁷

Notwithstanding the excessive heat which reigns in the country during the greater part of the year, and which compels the inhabitants of the towns to betake themselves, at mid-day, to the deep vaults in their houses, called *serdāps*,¹⁸ the air is, upon the whole, pure and salubrious, except in the south, around Basra [Bassora] at the mouth of the Shat-el-Arab, where morasses vitiate the atmosphere with their noxious effluvia, and epidemic pestilences often rage with destructive fury.¹⁹ “Rain,” says *Olivier*,²⁰ “seldom falls, even in winter, and the sky is almost always clear. In summer the atmosphere is so pure, that at a very short distance from the rivers neither damp nor dew can be detected; and were the waters of the Euphrates and Tigris confined within their channels, or led off by canals; and were means taken to prevent the accumulation of swamps and pools, there would be no country on the earth healthier or pleasanter, more fertile or more flourishing.” Such was in fact its ancient condition at the time when Herodotus wrote, about five hundred years before the Christian era. The land was then intersected by innumerable canals, which gradually diminished in size, until they dwindled into rivulets; and along their course were a number of machines for raising the water, and spreading it over the

soil.^a The industry of man was rewarded with the most luxuriant fertility. “Of all the countries,” says Herodotus,²¹ “with which I am acquainted, Babylon is by far the most fruitful in corn, for the soil generally yields two hundred fold, and in seasons unusually favourable, three hundred fold. The ear of their wheat and barley is four digits broad; but to how great a size the stalks of the *cenchrus*, (a kind of millet or buck-wheat) and the *sesamum*,^b grow, I shall not mention, for I am sure that none but they who have been themselves at Babylon, would give credit to the account.” On the other hand, the country was entirely destitute of lofty trees, and produced no figs, olives, nor grapes. But it was rich in palm-trees, whose fruit (the date), not only served for food, but yielded wine and honey. The want of stones and of wood fit for building, was well supplied by nature. There was found around Babylon an inexhaustible store of the best brick-clay, which, when dried in the sun, or burned in an oven, attained a strength and durability, that is even yet attested by the remains of ancient buildings, which, though so long since abandoned by men, have resisted the influence of the atmos-

^a See *Captain Chesney's Report*, in the Appendix to Vol. I. p. 280.—M.

^b The *Cenchrus* is the *Panicum Miliaceum*. The *Sesamum* is thought by some to be the *Sesamum Orientale* of Linnæus, by others the *Sesamum Indicum*.—M.

phere for many centuries.²² The very mortar for cement had likewise been provided by nature. At the distance of eight days' journey above Babylon, there was a small river *Is*, with a town of the same name, where were copious springs of *naphtha* or bituminous pitch, which was used instead of lime for cement,²³ its binding property being improved by layers of reeds or rushes. This mode of building described by Herodotus, is still to be seen in the existing remains of Babylon; and, according to the testimony of recent^a eye-witnesses, the layers of rushes and palm-leaves continue to this day uninjured by the lapse of time.²⁴

The cities and other places of ancient Babylonia, mentioned in Scripture, are :

1. *Babel*, the capital of the kingdom (in Jer. l. 12, described as the mother, *i. e.* the *metropolis* of Chaldæa), by the Greeks and Romans called Babylon. It is also in Jer. xxv. 26; li. 41, designated by *Sheshach*,²⁵ a word which probably signifies the *royal court* or *city of the king*. According to the narrative in the eleventh chapter of Genesis, Babel received its name from the confusion of tongues,²⁶ which followed on the im-

^a *Mignan*, however, thinks that in some cases, the white layer which has been taken for the course of the reeds, is nothing more than common earth, which has undergone this change, by the influence of the air on the clay composing the bricks. Travels in Chaldæa, p. 222.—M.

pious attempt that was there made to build a tower whose top should reach to heaven.²⁷ The traditions of Central and Western Asia, in like manner, carry back the foundation of Babel to the earliest period of antiquity, when men first began to form themselves into society. And in the extant remains of Assyrian historians, as well as in the collection of ancient Asiatic legends, called the Sybilline Oracles, an account is given of the building of the Tower of Babel, not very dissimilar from that of Moses.²⁸ The Assyrian tradition, preserved by Ctesias,²⁹ ascribes the foundation of Babylon to Semiramis the wife of Ninus; the later Chaldee account, which is to be found in the fragments of Megasthenes and Berosus (contained in the writings of Eusebius³⁰ and Josephus³¹) represents Nebuchadnezzar as the founder. The two narratives are easily reconcileable, on the supposition, that Nebuchadnezzar³² enlarged and fortified the city, which had been founded by Semiramis, or perhaps long before that queen's reign. Herodotus,³³ who visited Babylon about four centuries and a-half before the Christian æra, gives the following general description of it.^a "It is situated on a large plain, and is a perfect square; each side, by every approach, is in length one hundred and twenty furlongs;

^a I have adopted *Beloe's* Translation, Vol. I. p. 178, et seqq —M.

the space, therefore, occupied by the whole is four hundred and eighty furlongs. So extensive is the ground which Babylon occupies; its internal beauty and magnificence exceed whatever has come within my knowledge. It is surrounded by a trench, very wide, deep, and full of water; the wall beyond this is two hundred royal cubits high and fifty wide. It will not be foreign to my purpose to describe the use to which the earth dug out of the trench was converted, as well as the particular manner in which they constructed the wall. The earth of the trench was first of all laid in heaps, and when a sufficient quantity was obtained, made into square bricks, and baked in a furnace. They used as cement, a composition of heated bitumen, which, mixed with the tops of reeds, was placed betwixt every thirtieth course of bricks.^a Having thus lined the sides of the trench, they proceeded to build the wall in the same manner, on the summit of which, and fronting each other, they erected small watch towers of one storey, leaving a space betwixt them, through which a

^a *Mignan* says (*Trav.* p. 268), this passage is better rendered in the Latin translation of *Laing's* edition of *Wesseling's* *Herodotus*, and more conformable with the mode of cement preserved to this day. "Postea pro cœno vel calce utentes bitumine ferventi et per tricesimas latericias compages constipantes crates arundinum," &c.—*M.*

chariot and four horses might pass and turn. In the circumference of the wall, at different distances, were an hundred massy gates of brass,³⁴ whose hinges and frames were of the same metal.

“ The great river Euphrates divides Babylon into two parts. The walls meet and form an angle with the river at each extremity of the town, where a breast-work of burnt bricks begins and is continued along each bank. The city, which abounds in houses from three to four stories in height, is regularly divided into streets. Through these, which are parallel, there are transverse avenues to the river, opened through the wall and breast-work, and secured by an equal number of little gates of brass.³⁵ The first wall is regularly fortified; the interior one, though less in substance, is of almost equal strength. Besides these, in the centre of each division of the city, there is a circular space, surrounded by a wall. In one of these stands the royal palace, which fills a large and strongly defended space. The temple^a of Jupiter³⁶ Belus occupies the other, whose huge gates of

^a “ It is necessary to bear in mind, that the temples of the ancients were essentially different from our churches. A large space was inclosed by walls, in which were courts, a grove, pieces of water, sometimes apartments for the priests; and lastly, the temple, properly so called, and where, most frequently, it was permitted the priests alone to enter. The whole

brass may still be seen. It is a square building, each side of which is of the length of two furlongs. In the midst a tower rises, of the solid depth and height of one furlong;³⁷ upon which, resting as a base, seven other turrets are built in regular succession.³⁸ The ascent is on the outside, which, winding from the ground, is continued to the highest tower; and in the middle of the whole structure, there is a convenient resting place. In the last tower is a large chapel, in which is placed a couch magnificently adorned, and near it a table of solid gold; but there is no statue in the place. No man is suffered to sleep here; but the apartment is occupied by a female, whom the Chaldean priests affirm that their deity selects, from the whole nation, as the object of his pleasures. They themselves have a tradition, which cannot easily obtain credit, that their deity enters this temple, and reposes by night on this couch. In this temple there is also a small chapel, lower in the building, which contains a figure of Jupiter in a sitting posture, with a large table before him; these, with the base of the table, and the seat of the throne, are all of the purest gold, and are estimated, by the Chaldeans, to be worth eight

inclosure was named τὸ ἱερόν: the temple, properly so called, or the residence of the deity, was called ναὸς, or the cell. It is obvious that this last is the place particularly alluded to."—*Larcher's Herodotus*. Note in loc.—M.

hundred talents. On the outside of this chapel there are two altars ; one is of gold, the other is of immense size, and appropriated to the sacrifice of full grown animals ; those only which have not left their dams may be offered on the altar of gold."

The famous *hanging gardens* were likewise in the interior of the city, probably in the eastern quarter, and were reckoned among the seven wonders of the ancient world. They consisted of four terraces, raised on a wall twenty-two feet thick, and forming a regular square, each of whose sides was four hundred feet in length. The interior rested on strong vaults, supported by massy pillars.

[The following is the more detailed description given by Diodorus Siculus:^a " This hanging garden, near the citadel, was not built by Semiramis, but by a later prince called Cyrus, for the sake of a courtesan, who being a Persian (as they say) by birth, and coveting meadows on mountain tops, desired the king, by an artificial plantation, to imitate the lands in Persia. The ascent up to this garden was as to the top of a mountain, and it had buildings and apartments out of one into another like unto a theatre. Under the steps to the ascent were built arches, one above another, rising gently by degrees,

^a *Booth's Translation*, Vol. I. p. 103.

which supported the whole plantation. The highest arch, upon which the platform of the garden was laid, was fifty cubits high, and the garden itself was surrounded with battlements and bulwarks. The walls were made very strong, built at no small charge and expense, being two and twenty feet thick, and every sally-port ten feet wide; over the several stories of this fabric were laid beams and summers of huge massy stones, each sixteen feet long and four broad. The roof over all these was first covered with reeds, daubed with abundance of brimstone; then upon them were laid double tiles, pargeted together with a hard and durable mortar, and over them, after all, was a covering with sheets of lead, that the wet, which drenched through the earth, might not rot the foundation. Upon all these was laid earth of a convenient depth, sufficient for the growth of the largest trees. When the soil was laid even and smooth, it was planted with all sorts of trees, which, both for greatness and beauty, might delight the spectators. The arches (which stood one above another, and by that means darted light sufficient one into another) had in them many stately rooms of all kinds, and for all purposes. But there was one that had in it certain engines, whereby it drew plenty of water out of the river through certain conduits and conveyances

from the platform of the garden, and nobody was the wiser or knew what was done."^{39 a}]

Under Nebuchadnezzar, Babylon reached the height of magnificence and grandeur. It was the metropolis of the then civilized world; and through the united influence of conquests and commerce, there flowed into it the riches of almost all known lands. With perfect correctness, therefore, is it styled in the Old Testament, BABYLON THE GREAT, (Jer. li. 58.^b Dan. iv. 30) *the world-renowned*, (Jer. li. 41) *the proud ornament of the Chaldæans*, (Isa. xiii. 19); but with no less truth is it also designated *the luxurious and wanton*, (Isa. xlvii. 1, 8,)—one of the consequences of its great wealth and prosperity having been the corruption of the morals of

^a *Heeren* does not think that these particulars, so accurately given, could have been taken from Ctesias; but were, perhaps, borrowed from Megasthenes, who, according to Josephus, had described the works of Nebuchadnezzar. The earth, in these gardens, is said to have been of sufficient depth for trees 15 feet high. "Among the ruins stands a solitary tree, of a species altogether unknown in the country. It bears every mark of high antiquity, its originally enormous trunk being worn away and shattered by time—probably the last descendant of those hanging gardens."—M.

^b I presume the author cites this passage, on the supposition that הרחבה, "the broad one," refers to the city itself; and that is the Chald. Vers. But it agrees better with the parallelism of members to translate, (and so our authorized Vers. Blayney, Dathe, &c.)

The wall of Babylon, *even* the broad one, shall be razed to the ground, And her gates, *even* the lofty ones, shall be burned with fire.—M.

the inhabitants to the lowest state of debasement.⁴⁰ As capital of that empire, in which the worship of the heavenly bodies became the most impure and brutalising,⁴¹ its name is used in the Revelation of St. John, (ch. xiv. 8 ; xvi. 19 ; xvii. 5 ; xviii. 10,) to denote Rome, the seat and centre of heathenism.^a

But Babylon did not long continue the splendid metropolis of the world ; for, so early as the reign of Nebuchadnezzar's grandson, Nabonid, or as he is called in Scripture, Belshazzar, it was taken by Cyrus.⁴² It immediately lost its former importance, by ceasing to be the capital of an independent kingdom, Cyrus having fixed his residence at Susa. He caused the outer walls to be demolished,⁴³ as the city appeared to him too strongly fortified, and he feared lest the inhabitants might rise in revolt. This, in fact, actually happened under the reign of Darius Hystaspes, who, after he had made himself again master of the town, removed the gates, and reduced the wall to the height of fifty ells.⁴⁴ According to Strabo,⁴⁵ Xerxes endeavoured to raze to the ground the temple of Belus. The same writer mentions, that under the dominion of the Persians, and the successors of Alexander the Great, Babylon continued to sink gradually

^a This is, of course, mere matter of opinion ; and it is well known, that many expositors find *another Rome*, there portrayed, under the image of Babylon the Great.—M.

into decay ; especially after Seleucus Nicator had built Seleucia on the Tigris, only 300 stadia from Babylon, and chosen it for his royal abode. A great part of the population of Babylon emigrated thither ; and in the time of Strabo, (that is, in the age of the Emperor Augustus) Babylon was so deserted, that he applies to that city what an ancient poet had said of Megalopolis in Arcadia, viz. that it was “ one vast wilderness.” Diodorus Siculus,⁴⁶ who lived in the same century, says, there was then only a small part of the town inhabited ; and in the time of Pausanias, in the first half of the second century, nothing of Babylon remained but the walls.⁴⁷ We nevertheless find, in the second half of the fourth,⁴⁸ and even at the beginning of the fourteenth century, mention made of a village on the site of the former Babel, and called by the same name.⁴⁹ The remains of ancient Babylon were first made correctly known to Europeans, by the Italian traveller, Della Valle, who was there in the month of November, of the year 1616, and has left a description of its appearance.⁵⁰ After him, it remained long unvisited by Europeans, until, in more recent times, we received accounts of it through *Niebuhr* and *Beauchamp*. But our principal information regarding its present condition, has been furnished by *Rich* and *Ker Porter*, who have carefully examined and accurately described the ruins.⁵¹

These remains of the ancient metropolis of the world, which are mere ruinous heaps of bricks and rubbish,⁵² lie directly south of Bagdad, on the road to Hillah, which is about fifty miles distant from the former city. The ruins commence at Mohawil-Khan, and extend thence nine or ten miles southward to Hillah. The greater part are found on the east bank of the Euphrates. The plain, on which they stand, forms a large triangle, the river being the base, and the two long earthen walls (marked on the plan B B B B) the sides. The upper or easternmost part of this triangle is intersected by the two parallel ramparts F and D E running from north to south. Within the eastern section, thus cut off, (at whose pointed extremity is an opening as of an entrance) no ruins are met with; it is a piece of marsh land under partial cultivation. But the inner space in the lower part of the great triangle, intervening between the ramparts F and D E, and the walled-in river bank, is covered with mounds and heaps of ruins. Among these there are three immense masses or groups of building, which rise up to view in gigantic grandeur.

The most northerly mass, which is the first that comes in sight on the road from Bagdad, is called by the Arabic name of *Mukallibé*, *Mujellibé*, or *Makluba*,⁵³ *i. e.* the overturned.^a It is marked A

^a The idea seems to correspond to the English idiom, "being thrown topsy-turvy," or into a confused heap.—M.

upon the plan. According to Ker Porter it is, with the exception of the Birs Nimroud, the most enormous pile of bricks ever reared by the hand of man. It is an oblong square, whose sides face the four cardinal points. The height is at present 140 feet, the top presenting a flat uneven surface. On all the sides are to be seen layers of bricks, cemented with chopped straw, reeds, and bitumen. There are in the mound many deep ravines, formed partly by the long influence of the atmosphere, partly by the excavations of the Turks in search of hid treasures. Yet regularly-built subterraneous vaults are also to be seen, in some of which have been discovered *sarcophagi* (containing human skeletons,) earthen vessels, and burnt bricks, with cuneiform inscriptions. This colossal mass is surrounded on the east, north, and partly on the west side, by an earthen wall, which forms the end of the northern line of the triangle we have described as inclosing the entire ruins. *Della Valle* and *Beauchamp* thought they saw in the Mujellibé the remains of the temple of Belus.^a But this opinion has been opposed, on very strong grounds, by *Ker Porter*,⁵⁴ who endeavours to

^a This opinion was adopted by D'Anville and Major Rennell, and has been revived by Mignan; but the superior claims of the *Birs Nimroud* to be considered identical with the famous Tower of Babylon, were first hinted at by Niebuhr, and are now admitted almost universally. Mignan's measurement of the Mujellibé gave the following result: The north side 274 yards, the south 256, the east 226, the west 240.—M.

shew that these are the ruins of the fortified royal palace, which is spoken of by several ancient writers.⁵⁵ Against this supposition, however, lies the objection, that the mound is situated beyond the bounds of the city proper (which are marked by the walls C and D), and likewise too far from the river, since, according to the ancient descriptions, the palace was divided into two parts by the Euphrates. These ruins, therefore, seem rather to have belonged to a citadel, which commanded and covered the long line of circumvallation B B.

The ruins of that part of the royal palace which lay on the east bank of the river, are probably to be recognized in the *second* great heap which is within the inner wall, and still bears the name of *Al Kasr*,⁵⁶ *i. e.* the palace. It is marked K in the plan, and forms nearly a square of 2100 feet on each side. Every vestige shews it to have been composed of buildings, far superior to all others upon the east side of the river of which there are any remains. The bricks are of the finest description ; and though this seems to be the place whence they have been taken away in the greatest quantities, a vast store is still to be found. But as the depredators have excavated the mass in every direction, and converted much of it into heaps of rubbish, the original appearance and extent of the edifice can no longer be ascertained. The walls are every where of fire-burnt bricks, ce-

mented with the best lime mortar; and among the ruins there are fragments of alabaster vessels, fine earthen ware, marble, and a great many tiles covered with a variegated polish, the colouring of which is surprisingly fresh. In a cavity at the south side, Rich found an earthen funereal urn with human bones lying near, which, when touched, immediately crumbled into dust. A little to the north of this, Beauchamp discovered a stone figure standing out from the earth, which the Arabs supposed to be an idolatrous image. To ascertain the point more correctly, Rich employed a number of labourers, who, after digging round it a whole day, brought out to view the colossal statue of a lion, on a pedestal of coarse grey granite, and clumsily executed. In the mouth is a circular aperture, into which a man might introduce his fist.^a On the north side of the Kasr, where Ker Porter thought he saw traces of the hanging gardens, there stands upon an artificial eminence, a tree, to which the Arabs give the name of *Athēla*.⁵⁷ This species of tree is altogether foreign to the country. Two of the attendants of Ker Porter, who were natives of Bender-Bushire, assured him that there are trees of that kind in their country, which attain a very great age, and are called *Gaz*. The one in

^a It appears from Mignan's account (*Trav.* p. 186) that since the visit of Rich, the head of the lion has been knocked off.—M.

question is in appearance like the weeping-willow, but the trunk is hollow through age, and partly shattered. The Arabs venerate it as sacred, in consequence of the Calif Ali having reposed under its shade after the battle of Hillah.^a Ker Porter found here a large cylinder of burnt clay, with a cuneiform inscription, a neatly wrought seal of agate, on which was the figure of a priest with various symbols of the Sabeian worship, and a dog in bronze three inches high, with a collar of fine gold.

Separated from the mound of *Al-Kasr*, by a space of about 800 ells (marked L), there lies to the south the third group of ruins called the *Amran-Hill*, (M). The intervening ground is intersected by a long row of low heaps running from east to west. At the west end it meets a higher ridge, which reaches from the south-west corner of the Kasr to the north-western corner of Amran-Hill. The low grounds are covered with high grass, the soil being moist and swampy. The hill of Amran is as high as the Kasr, and of far greater magnitude. It has the form of a triangle, whose south-west side measures 1400 ells, the east 1100, and the north 850. The whole of this stupendous mass is deeply furrowed and excavated; and as all the bricks have been carried away which could be detached, the foot sinks at every step

^a See the foot-note a, at p. 14.

into loose dust and rubbish. On the highest point of the south-western extremity stands the tomb of Amran, a Mahommedan saint, in which a Shiah-Seid (a devotee of the sect of Ali) has taken up his abode.

[“ Amran, the natives say, was a son of Ali. The keeper of this tomb may be likened to Job’s forsaken man, dwelling in desolate cities, and in houses which no man inhabiteth, which are ready to become heaps (chap. xv. 28). A hundred yards to the east-south-east of this building there is a solid block of white marble, measuring six feet long, three wide, and three and a-half inches thick ; but no writing, device, or bitumen is to be traced upon it. To the westward of this (NN) the ground is flat, without any marks of building, and is bounded by the river’s embankment. A little below there is a ridge of mounds (PP), extending from a date-grove, on the verge of the stream, to the south-west of a village called Jumjuma, which appellative means a skull, and likewise, according to Castell and Golius, “ *Puteus in loco salsuginoso fossus.*” The mounds then stretch towards the remains of a tomb of the same name, form a right angle behind it, taking an easterly course, when they are traversed by the Bagdad road.^a]

On the opposite western bank of the river

^a To render the description more complete, the above extract is taken from *Mignan’s Travels*. (1829), p. 200.—M.

(which Ker Porter was the first to explore with care), there are several low mounds, and remains of former buildings, which begin below the village of Ananah, and extend for the space of six or seven miles to the colossal ruin, known by the name of *Birs Nimroud*,^a i. e. the tower of Nimrod. Viewed on the east side, it has the appearance of an oblong hill, which rises in a broad pyramidical form. The base is 2082 feet^b in circuit. [“ At the eastern side it is cloven by a deep furrow, and is not more than fifty or sixty feet high, but on the western side, it rises in a conical figure to the elevation of 198 feet, and on its summit is a solid pile of brick, 37 feet high, by 28 in breadth, diminishing in thickness to the top, which is broken and irregular, and rent by a large fissure, extending through a third of its height. It is perforated by small square holes, disposed in rhomboids. The fire-burnt bricks of which it is built have inscriptions on them ; and so excellent is the cement, which appears to be lime mortar, that it is nearly impossible to extract one whole. The other parts of the summit of this hill, are occupied by immense fragments of brick-work, of no determinate figure, tumbled together, and connected into solid vitrified masses, as if they had under-

^a In Arabic characters برز نمرود Bîrz-Nimrûd.—M.

^b This is Porter's measurement. Rich says 2286 ; Mig-nan 2166.—M.

gone the action of the fiercest fire, or had been blown up with gunpowder, the layers of brick being perfectly discernible.”^a]

[“ Its present height, reckoning to the bottom of the tower which stands on the summit, is two hundred feet, the tower itself being thirty-five. Looking at it from the west, the entire mass rises at once from the plain, in one stupendous, though irregular, pyramidal hill. It is composed of fine bricks, kiln-baked. From the western side, two of its stories may be distinctly seen; the first is about sixty feet high, cloven in the middle by deep ravines. The tower-like looking ruin on the top, is a solid mass, twenty-eight feet wide, of the most beautiful masonry; to all appearance it formed an angle of some square building, the ruins of which are yet to be seen on the eastern side. The cement which connects the bricks is so hard, that Ker Porter found it impossible to chip off the smallest piece;⁵⁸ and for this reason, none of the inscriptions can be copied, as they are always on the lower surface of the bricks. It is rent from the top nearly half-way to the bottom; and at its foot lie several unshapen masses of fine brick-work, still bearing traces of a violent fire, which has given them a vitrified appearance, whence it has been conjectured^b that it has been struck by light-

^a *Rich's Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon*, p. 36.—M.

^b Porter has a number of observations which strikingly con-

ning. The appearance of the hill on the eastern side, evidently shews that this enormous mass has been reduced more than one-half. Only three stories out of the eight which it formerly contained, can now be discerned. Yet the appearance of the Tower of Nimrod is sublime, even in its ruins. Clouds play around its summit; its recesses are inhabited by lions, three being quietly basking on the heights when Porter approached it, and, scarcely intimidated by the cries of the Arabs, gradually and slowly descended into the plain. Thus have the words of the prophet been fulfilled (Isa. xiii. 20, 21):

“ Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there ;
Owls shall fill their houses ;
Ostriches shall dwell there ;
And Satyrs shall dance there.
Jackals shall howl in their palaces,
And wild dogs in their pleasant places.”^a

firm this conjecture, shewing that the intense vitrifying heat, of which there are so many traces, could only have proceeded from the electric fluid. We are naturally led to connect these appearances with the tradition of the Tower of Babel having been overthrown by fire from heaven. Porter supposes that the works of the heathen monarchs may have long concealed these marks of heaven's anger, but that the successive devastations of man, and the gradual effects of age, have reduced the building to something of the appearance it first presented after the confusion of tongues. At all events, it is now what Jeremiah had so emphatically predicted (ch. li. 25), “ *a burnt mountain.*”—M.

^a *Heeren*, chiefly after Ker Porter.—M.

The conjecture of Niebuhr,⁵⁹ that this ruin is a remnant of the Tower of Belus formerly described (at p. 10), has been placed nearly beyond a doubt, by the accurate researches of Rich and Porter.⁶⁰

[“ An open quadrangular area extends for a considerable distance around the Birs, though its base is encircled by small ridges of mounded earth. I must not, however, pass unnoticed, one immense hill, scarcely a hundred yards distant from the eastern front of this stupendous fabric. It stretches away north and south, to a breadth of 450 yards, when its extreme points curve and meet to the eastward, after having occupied a space of 650 yards. Its height is fifty-five feet. This mound is also very deeply furrowed into countless channels, covered with nearly the usual *debris* of former building, except that the fragments of vases and glazed pottery, are inconceivably fresh and abundant.^a On its summit is a Mahomedan building, called Koubbé, generally pronounced *Goubbah*, meaning in Arabic, a cupola or dome. It goes by the name of Makam Ibrahim Khalil.^b The

^a On the supposition of the Birs Nimroud having been the Tower of Belus, these buildings may have been the residence of the priests and officers of the temple.—M.

^b The common name for Abraham throughout the east, is Ibrahim el Nabi, *i. e.* Abraham the prophet, or Ibrahim Khalil Allah, *i. e.* Abraham the friend of God. See D’Herbelot under “ Ibrahim.”—M.

Arabs say, that Nimrod ordered a fire to be kindled near it, and commanded Abraham to be cast into it; while “the mighty hunter” viewed the frightful exhibition from the summit of his tower. The ruined portion of another Koubbé, stands a little to the south, called, Makam Saheb Zemam, to which also several curious traditions are attached.^a]

The other places in Babylonia mentioned in the Old Testament are :

2. *Dura*,⁶¹—the great plain around Babylon, where Nebuchadnezzar caused the golden image to be erected, which all his subjects were commanded to worship. Dan. iii. 1.⁶²

3. *Erech*,⁶³ is mentioned in Gen. x. 10, among the cities which Nimrod founded in the land of Shinar. It is a very ancient opinion⁶⁴ that this was that city of Mesopotamia, which was afterwards called by the Greeks, *Edessa*⁶⁵ and *Callirhoe*.⁶⁶ But there is no certain evidence that Erech or Arach had ever been an ancient name of Edessa.⁶⁷ And that the latter is the city spoken of in Genesis, is justly questioned both by Bochart⁶⁸ and Bredow,⁶⁹ on the ground that it lay too far north of Babylon, to-

^a *Mignan's Travels in Chaldæa*, p. 211—213. Around the tower and adjoining buildings, there was a strong quadrangular inclosure, the remains of which are in tolerable preservation.—M.

wards Armenia—whither the land of Shinar certainly did not extend. Bochart, therefore, supposes that Erech was Aracca or Arecha, on the Tigris, upon the borders of Babylonia and Susiana,⁷⁰ and probably the same city which Herodotus⁷¹ calls *Arderika*, *i. e.* Great Erech. This conjecture is strengthened by the circumstance that, in Ezra iv. 9, the Erechites^{72a} are enumerated among the colonists of Samaria, along with the Babylonians, Susanchites, (Susiani) Elamites, (Elymæi) and other neighbouring tribes. Still nearer to Babylon than Arecca, lay the city of *Orchoe*,⁷³ on a lake formed by one of the canals of the Euphrates—the seat of a learned sect of Chaldæans, who chiefly applied themselves to astronomy and astrology. The name Orchoe may easily have been formed out of Erech; and it is probable that the former place did lie within the compass of the land of Shinar.

4. *Accad*,⁷⁴ another of the cities founded by Nimrod in the land of Shinar, Gen. x. 10. The original name was probably *Arcad* or *Archad*, as it is written by the most ancient Greek translators.⁷⁵ Of the two dissimilar consonants in the middle, the first was, in pronunciation, merged into the second.⁷⁶ *Ælian*⁷⁷ mentions, that, in that part of the district of Sittakene which belonged

^a In the Eng. Vers. "Archevites." The Hebrew is אֲרַכְוִיטָאִי See our note on the Apharsachthites, in Vol. I. p. 305.—M.

to Persia, there was a river called Argade, a name of similar sound. Upon that river, it is supposed by Bochart,⁷⁸ lay the city of Arcad or Accad. But mere resemblance in sound affords a very precarious ground of conjecture, and we know not whether the province of Shinar reached so far east beyond the Tigris. It is even uncertain whether *Accad* (as it stands in the present text) be the true reading of the original. For several ancient translators found in their Hebrew MSS. *Achar*,⁷⁹ which was the ancient name of a city of Mesopotamia, that was afterwards called Nesibis;⁸⁰ hence the Jewish literati in the time of Jerome, identified that place with the city of Nimrod now in question.⁸¹ But the same objection we have stated against the opinion of Erech being Edessa is applicable here also,—*viz.* that the land of Shinar did not reach so far north as to include these parts of Mesopotamia. We must, therefore, give up hope of ascertaining any thing definite respecting Accad or Achar,⁸²—all traces of it appearing to have been very soon lost.

5. *Chalneh* or *Calneh*,⁸³ the fourth of Nimrod's cities, is probably not different from the Calno⁸⁴ of Isa. x. 9, or the Canneh⁸⁵ of Ezek. xxxvii. 23. According to the Chaldee translator, with whom Jerome agrees, this is the same place which was subsequently called Ctesiphon.⁸⁶ It lay upon

the Tigris, opposite Seleucia, and was, for a time, the capital of the Parthians. This ancient opinion respecting the situation of Chalneh is rendered probable by the circumstance, that the district around Ctesiphon was called by the Greeks *Chalonitis*, which would be easily formed out of Chalneh.⁸⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus says that it was Pacorus, a Persian king, (who reigned from A. D. 71 to 107,) that changed the name of this city to Ctesiphon.⁸⁸ In the time of the prophets Amos and Isaiah, who were nearly cotemporary, (about eight hundred years before the Christian era) Chalneh appears to have constituted an independent principality. For the former prophet says, ch. vi. 1, 2 :

Woe unto them that dwell at ease in Zion !
 And that rest secure on the mountains of Samaria !
 That are named after the chief of the nations :
 And to them the house of Israel resort.
 Pass over unto Calneh, and see :
 And go from thence to the great Hamath :
 And go down to Gath of the Philistines.
 Are they better than these kingdoms ?
 Or is their border greater than your border ?^a

But not long after, Chalneh became a prey to the Assyrians, with the rest of Western Asia.

^a This is Newcome's Version. *Zion* denotes Judah ; and *Samaria*, Israel. *Hamath* is Epiphania in Syria. By "*these kingdoms*," are meant Judah and Israel.—M.

For in Isaiah (chap. x. 9) the king of Assyria is introduced saying:

Are not my princes altogether kings ?

Is not Calno as Charchemish ?

Is not Hamath as Arpad ?

Is not Samaria as Damascus ?

About a hundred and fifty years later, Chalneh was still a considerable town, as may be inferred from the circumstance, that it is mentioned by Ezekiel (ch. xxvii. 23) among the places which traded with Tyre.⁸⁹ The site of Ctesiphon or Calneh, was afterwards occupied by *El-Madain*,⁹⁰ i. e. “the (Two) Cities;” of which the only extant remains are the ruins of a palace called *Tak-Kesra*, that is, the Bow of Chosroes, or *Ivan-Kesra*,⁹¹ the Palace of Chosroes,—along with a great many mounds of rubbish.

6. The district of *Cutha*⁹² appears likewise to have been a part of Babylonia, out of which Salmanasser, king of Assyria, sent colonists to people the country of the ten tribes of Israel carried by him captive, 2 Kings xvii. 24, 30. For a place of the same name is mentioned by Abulfeda,^{93a} and other Arabic and Persian writers,^{93b} as situated in the tract near the Nahar Malca, or King’s Canal, south of Bagdad, between the Euphrates and Tigris. The people, who sprang from the intermixture of these colonists with the native Samaritans, were

branded by the Jews with the reproachful name of *Cutheans*.^{93c}

The situation of Babylonia was uncommonly favourable for commerce. By means of the great navigable rivers the Euphrates and Tigris, by which it was inclosed, merchandise was easily conveyed into the country by water; namely, on the first mentioned river downwards from Syria and Asia Minor,—on the other from Media and Armenia—while up these streams, from the Persian Gulf, goods were brought from India, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, and every part of Africa. Hence Babylonia became the *depôt* of the treasures of both Africa and Asia; and therefore is it correctly styled by Ezekiel (ch. xvii. 4), *the land of merchants*.⁹⁴ The cloth of Babylonia, commonly made of cotton, was highly esteemed for the fineness of the fabric and the splendour of the colours, and seems to have been exported to foreign countries at a very early period. Among the spoils which fell into the hands of the Israelites at the capture of Jericho under Joshua, was a *cloak* or *mantle of Shinar*, i. e. Babylonia,⁹⁵ Josh. vii. 21. The allusions in the ancient writings of the Hebrews, are confirmed by the more particular accounts transmitted by *Herodotus*,⁹⁶ who describes the Babylonians as a people fond of pomp and magnificence, and accustomed to a

number of artificial wants, which could only have been supplied by commercial intercourse with many nations, some of them very remote. “They wear,” says he, “a gown of linen or cotton,^a flowing down to the feet, and over this a woollen garment, with a white (woollen) cloak covering the whole.” This garb, as is remarked by *Heeren*, must have been too much for so warm a climate, and therefore seems to have been assumed rather from ostentation than to meet any actual wants. [“Carpets,^b one of the principal objects of luxury in the East, the floors of the rich being generally covered with them, were nowhere so finely woven, and in such splendid colours, as at Babylon. Particular representations were seen on them of those wonderful Indian animals, the griffin and others, with which we have become acquainted by the ruins of Persepolis, whence the knowledge of them was brought to the west.^c Foreign nations made use of these carpets in the decoration of their harems and royal saloons; indeed this species of luxury seems nowhere to have been carried farther than among the Persians. With them not only the floors, but even beds and sofas in

^a The phrase of the original is λίνον.—M.

^b *Heeren* on the Politics, &c. of Asiatic Nations.—M.

^c The reader should compare the remarks of Böttiger on this subject, containing a fund of mythological instruction, in his “Interpretation of the figures on Greek vases.” I. iii. p. 106.

the houses of the nobles were covered with two or three of these carpets ; nay, the oldest of their sacred edifices, the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ, was ornamented with a purple one of Babylonian workmanship.^a

“ Babylonian garments were not less esteemed ; those, in particular, called sindones, were in very high repute. It appears that they were usually of cotton, and the most costly were so highly valued for their brilliancy of colour and fineness of texture as to be compared to those of Media, and set apart for royal use ;^b they were even to be found at the tomb of Cyrus, which was profusely decorated with every description of furniture in use amongst the Persian kings during their lives.^c The superiority of Babylonian robes and carpets will not be a matter of surprise, when we consider how near Babylon was to Carmania on the one side, and to Arabia and Syria on the other, and that in these countries the finest cotton was produced.

Large weaving establishments were not confined to the capital ; but existed likewise in other cities and inferior towns of Babylonia, which Semiramis is said to have built on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and which she appointed as marts for those who imported Median

^a Xenoph. and Arrian, VI. 29. ^b Theoph. Hist. Plant. IV. 9.

^c Arrian, l. c.

and Persian goods.^a These manufacturing towns also were staples for land traffic. The most famous of them was Borsippa, situated on the Euphrates, fifteen miles below Babylon, and mentioned in history before the time of Cyrus. These were the principal linen and cotton manufactories, and they still existed in the age of Strabo.^b

Besides these, the Babylonians appear to have made all kinds of apparel, and every article of luxury ; such as sweet waters, which were in common use, and probably necessary from the heat of the climate. Walking sticks delicately chased with figures of animals and other objects, and also elegantly engraved stones, were in general use among the Babylonians. These stones begin to form a particular class, since the curiosities called Babylonian cylinders have become less rare. Many of them have undoubtedly served for seal rings ; for in the East the seal supplies the place of a signature, or, at any rate, makes it valid, as we still see on specimens of Babylonian documents. The same may be said of the cylinders. We have a striking illustration of the perfection to which the Babylonians had brought the art of cutting precious stones, in the collection of M. Dorow, which contains a cylinder formed from a jasper, bearing a cuneiform

^a Diod. I. p. 125.

^b Strab. XVI. p. 1074.

inscription, and an image of a winged *Ized* or genius, in a flowing Babylonian dress, represented in the act of crushing, with each hand, an ostrich, the bird of Ahriman.^a That the Babylonians possessed a maritime navigation when their power was at its height, may be gathered in general, from the productions of the contemporary Jewish prophet, Isaiah,^b “ Thus saith the Lord, your deliverer ; for your sakes have I sent to Babel, and thrown to the ground all obstacles, and the Chaldeans who exult in their ships.” This is a graphic description of a people no less proud of their ships, than of their gates and ramparts. But more definite information is preserved to us in the Greek writers, who deserve the utmost attention of the historical inquirer. Æschylus, in his play of the Persians, enumerating the nations who composed the armies of the great king, speaks as follows : “ Babylon

^a Oriental Antiquities, published by *D. Dorow*, No. I. 1818, with the draughts and interpretations of Grotefend and others.

^b Isaiah xliii. 14, according to the translation of Michaelis. Gesenius has it differently, “ For your sakes send I to Babel, and drive all its fugitives to the Chaldees, to their ships which are their delight.” To which he has the following note : “ The fugitives are the people collected together in the commercial city of Babel, (consequently different from the Chaldees) who, on the invasion of the enemy, take refuge in the ships of their delight, their joy, or tumultuous pleasure ; for these vessels, instruments of the magnificence of Babel, were commonly filled with crowds of rejoicing people.”

too, that abounds in gold, sends forth a promiscuous multitude, who both embark in ships and boast of their skill in archery.”]

Babylon was from early times the seat of learning and science ; and astronomy, especially, made there very considerable progress.⁹⁷ Yet the interest which the Babylonians took in the accurate observation of the heavenly bodies, was not of a purely scientific character. It was connected with the belief, that the stars exercised an influence, not only over the weather, but over the destinies of men, and that, by the exact study of their courses and phenomena, a knowledge might be obtained of future events—a belief which gradually led to the practice of star-worship, to which, along with their neighbours the Arabs, the Babylonians became much addicted. The accumulated astronomical and astrological knowledge of centuries was preserved, by a peculiar *caste* of priests, or *literati*, who were divided into several classes, as among the Egyptians and Persians. They were called by the general name of *wise* or *learned men*,⁹⁸ and likewise *Chaldeans*,⁹⁹ from the nation with whom they migrated into Babylonia.^a When Nebuchadnezzar had

^a This is affirmed too positively. *Heeren* assigns good reasons for believing that the Magians had been established in Babylonia, long before its conquest by the Chaldeans. See the extract from his *Researches on Asiatic Nations* at the end of the present chapter, p. 50.—M.

conquered Jerusalem, and entered the city with the grandees of his kingdom, among others who formed his train is mentioned *the chief of the Magi*.^{100a} Jerem. xxxix. 3, 13. Whether this was a distinct class of Babylonian priests, or whether the Magi included the whole of the sacerdotal caste, cannot be determined with certainty.¹⁰¹ To their number, doubtless, belonged the astrologers and star-gazers, mentioned in Isa. xlvii. 13.¹⁰² The original of the former of these words denotes *heaven-dividers*, from the circumstance that the astrologers, to facilitate the casting of nativities, and for other purposes of their art, divided the firmament into different sections and fields. In some places of the Book of Daniel, where mention is made of the Chaldee soothsayers and dream-interpreters (ch. i. 20 ; ii. 2 ; x. 27 ; iv. 4 ; v. 7, 11), they are designated by several different names.¹⁰³ But it is uncertain, whether these denote various orders of Magians, or are merely different names for the same general class.¹⁰⁴

The language of the ancient Babylonians was a branch of the Shemitic family of languages—the same to which the Hebrew and Arabic belong ; and it differed little or nothing from the East-Aramaic or Chaldee.¹⁰⁵ It has been argued, indeed, that the Chaldee must

^a In the Eng. Version, it is a proper name, *Rab-Mag*.—M.

have been a dialect of the Medo-Persian class of languages, because the names which occur in Scripture of Babylonian or Chaldæan idols, kings and other persons, as well as of offices and dignities, are found to be of Persian derivation.¹⁰⁶ But these names were evidently taken from the Assyrian language, which appears to have been a Medo-Persian dialect, that became naturalized in Babylon during the dominion of the Assyrians, and continued to be employed under the Chaldee dynasty; just as the Turks have retained a great many names, which characterize persons, places, and dignities, originally taken from the Arabic and Persic tongues. The Babylonians had also the same alphabetical writing as the Chaldæans. It was that kind which later Jewish writers style the *Assyrian*, inasmuch as they regard Assyria, in its most extensive sense, as including Babylonia and Chaldæa.¹⁰⁷ On two of the burnt bricks, found in the ruins of Babylon, the writing seems allied to the Phœnician, a cognate Shemitic dialect.¹⁰⁸ But the more common cuneiform inscriptions are evidently of later date, and belong to the period of the Persian dominion over Babylonia.¹⁰⁹

According to the account preserved in the Book of Genesis, the kingdom of Babylon was the most ancient that was established among mankind after the flood. It was founded by

Nimrod, one of the posterity of Ham, Gen. x. 8, 9, 10. He is called a son of Cush, by which it seems to be intimated, that he had come from the south,¹¹⁰ (probably from Arabia) to the banks of the Euphrates, and subdued the land of Shinar.¹¹¹ That he was a conqueror, is implied in the words: "he began to be a mighty one on the earth;" while the addition, "he was a mighty hunter before Jehovah,"¹¹² points to the manner in which he attained the dominion. In those early times, when the habitations of men had to be protected against the attacks of wild beasts, hunting came to be considered as not only a useful but an honourable and heroic employment. Thus the Greeks recount the exploits of Hercules, of Theseus, of Meleagros and others. Nimrod seems to have gained renown in a similar manner, and then to have raised himself to supreme power with the assistance of those who had followed him in the chase.¹¹³ Though he cannot be said to be presented in Scripture in a favourable light, yet no express condemnation is pronounced on him. The traditions of the East, however, exhibit him as an impious tyrant, who presumptuously rebelled against God,¹¹⁴ and in his insensate wickedness, attempted to assail the Deity on his high throne in the heavens.¹¹⁵ There is no mention of Nimrod in Greek or Roman writers. According to them, Belus built Babel, and founded the Ba-

bylonian empire. But perhaps “Bel,”¹¹⁶ which in Chaldee signifies “a Lord,” was the title which the first king bore by way of distinction; and in that case Belus and Nimrod may have been identical. Several centuries later, in the time of Abraham, mention is made (in Gen. xiv. 1.) of a king of Shinar or Babylonia, Amraphel, who went as an ally of the king of Elam to reduce to obedience certain petty princes on the Jordan. Subsequently to this period, there is no notice in the earlier historical books of Scripture, either of Shinar or Babel. A list of Babylonian kings has been given by Ptolemy, a learned Alexandrian of the second century of our æra, which he probably extracted from the writings of Berosus,¹¹⁷ a Chaldæan priest. It begins with Nabonassar, in the year B. C. 747.¹¹⁸ This king was, without doubt, a vassal of Assyria;¹¹⁹ for, among the colonists, whom Salmanassar, king of Assyria, transported to his newly-acquired territory of Samaria, about the year B. C. 730, there were *Babylonians* (2 Kings xvii. 24) a clear proof that Babylonia was then dependent upon Assyria, though it had nominal kings of its own. Such a viceroy was Merodach-Baladan, who, about the year B. C. 711, sent ambassadors to Hezekiah, king of Judah, to congratulate him on his recovery from sickness, and propose a league against the Assyrians, 2 Kings

xx. 12; Isa. xxxix. 1. This Merodach-Baladan,^a who, in Ptolemy's catalogue, is called *Mardokempadus*,¹²⁰ is also mentioned by Berosus,¹²¹ under the same name which he bears in scripture. It is related of him, that he obtained the supreme authority in Babylon, by the murder of his predecessor Acises, but possessed it only for six months, when he was slain by Belibus or Elibus, who ascended the throne of Babylon as an independent monarch. But, in the third year of his reign, he was besieged and carried captive by Sanche-rib, [Sennacherib] king of Assyria,¹²² who appointed as viceroy of Babylon, his own son Esarhaddon. Yet before a century had expired, the Assyrian dynasty in Babylon was overthrown by the Chaldæans. This people, who, in the Old Testament, are designated "the Casdim,"¹²³ were a warlike tribe, originally located in the Carduchian Mountains, in the north of Assyria and Mesopotamia.¹²⁴ That they were related to the Hebrews appears from the circumstance, that their ancestor Cesed [Kesed]^b was a son of Nachor, and consequently a nephew of Abraham, (Gen. xxii. 22); and it is out of Ur of the

^a He is sometimes called *Berodach*, the labials כ and ב being often interchanged.—M.

^b כֶּסֶד *Kesed*; plural, כַּסְדִּים *Kasdim*. But is this any thing more than conjecture? May not "Ur-Kasdim" have existed before the time of Abraham?—M.

Chaldees (*Ur-Casdim*) that Abraham himself is said to have come,¹²⁵ before he dwelt in Charran, (Gen. xi. 28, 31 ; Neh. ix. 7.) The country on the river Chaboras, in Mesopotamia, is called in Ezek. i. 3, *the land of the Chaldees* ; and, according to Job i. 3, they were Chaldæans who made predatory inroads into the land of Uz. The prophet Jeremias mentions them (ch. v. 15) as an *ancient* people.¹²⁶ When the Assyrian monarchs extended their conquests towards the west, the Chaldæans also came under their sway. This raw but hardy race appears to have received from their conquerors a new organization ; part of them were transferred to Babylonia, with a view, probably, to protect the frontiers against the neighbouring Arabs, while means were at the same time taken for reducing their barbarous hordes to discipline, and imparting to them the advantages of civilization.^{127a} That this

^a “The question, what the Chaldeans really were, and whether they ever properly existed as a nation, is one of the most difficult that history presents. From eastern analogy, it seems most probable, that the כַּשְׁדִּים *Casdim* of the Hebrews, which is translated Chaldæans, was a general name among the Semitic nations for the *Northern barbarians*, as Turani was among the inhabitants of Iran. At all events, it is certain that the conquering Chaldeans forced their way from the north, since their separate hordes had already wandered in the Steppes of Mesopotamia for a hundred years, and had, in part, settled there. The reader, however, is particularly referred to *Gesenius* on Isaiah xxiii. 13, where the fragments of the earlier his-

took place not long before the time of Salmanassar, may be inferred from Isaiah xxiii. 13, where the Chaldæans in Babylonia are termed “a new nation, formed by the Assyrians;”^a and it may be gathered from the same passage, that the Chaldæans constituted the most considerable and effective part of the Assyrian host, seeing the prophet intimates, that it should be through them that Salmanassar would succeed in the destruction of Tyre, to which his army had laid siege. A very lively and graphic picture of the Chaldæan warriors has been given by the prophet Habakkuk (ch. i. 6—11), who probably lived at the period when this people

tory of this people will be found collected. This learned commentator seeks the original seat of the Chaldeans in the mountains of Curdistan, now inhabited by the Curds, probably their successors; and conjectures that they were brought from their native regions by the Assyrians as mercenaries, after which they settled in the plains, till they started forth as conquerors. Every one acquainted with Asiatic history, will at once see that there is nothing in the opinion that their name was a general appellation, but what may very well agree with this notion. The hypothesis of Michaelis, that would make them Scythians, refutes itself.” *Heeren on the Politics, &c. of Asiatic Nations*, vol. ii. p. 147, note.—M.

^a *Michaelis* translates, or rather paraphrases the passage thus :

Behold the land of the Chaldæans !
That nation which a little time since was not.
The Assyrian subdued it,
And gave it to the inhabitants of the desert,
They fixed the wandering hordes in settled dwellings,
And built up the palaces of the land.—M.

first made their appearance in Palestine or some adjacent region.¹²⁸

For behold ! I raise up the Chaldæans,
 That rude and boisterous people,
 Who roam far and wide through the earth,
 To seize on possessions which belong not to them.
 Frightful and terrible are they,
 Their will is their only law and rule.
 Swifter than panthers^a are their horses,
 And keener than evening wolves.
 Their cavalry prance in pride,—
 From afar do they come,—and they fly
 Like an eagle darting on its prey.
 All of them come to destroy ;
 Their faces scorch up,^b as the east-wind,
 And they gather captives as the sand.
 Yea, they^c scoff at kings,
 And princes are their derision ;
 They laugh at every strong-hold,
 And heap up earth,^d and take it.
 Yet shall they vanish as the wind and pass away,
 They shall be condemned, for making a god of their
 strength.

This warlike tribe must, in a short period, have acquired very considerable influence in the As-

^a “ Leopards tamed and taught to hunt, are made use of in the East for hunting, and seize the prey with surprising agility ; when he leaps, he throws himself seventeen or eighteen feet at a time.” Harmer’s Observ. Vol. II. p. 438.—M.

^b The idea is “ to absorb or dry up,” like the pestilential east-wind. In the English Vers. and Newcome, it is rendered “ to sup up.”—M.

^c By the emphatic אֲנִי of the original, *Dathe* understands Esarhad-don, king of Assyria.—M.

^d This refers to the practice of raising up mounds for the capture of fortresses.—M.

syrian empire ; for about a hundred and twenty years after the reign of Esarhaddon, Nabopalassar, a Babylonian viceroy, concluded an alliance with Cyaxares, King of Media, and with his aid conquered Assyria.¹²⁹ Now that Nabopalassar was a Chaldæan by nation may be inferred from the circumstance, that thenceforth no mention is made of Assyrian, but only of Chaldæan kings.¹³⁰ Nabopalassar had a powerful adversary in Necho, King of Egypt, who advanced triumphantly as far as the Euphrates, all Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa yielding him a ready submission. In these circumstances, the now aged Nabopalassar assumed into the government his son Nebuchadnezzar,¹³¹ who had married a daughter of Cyaxares-Astibar, king of Media. This prince made it his first care to reduce to obedience the revolted provinces beyond the Euphrates ; and being opposed in this by Necho, the hostile armies met at Karchemish (Kirkesium), where the king of Egypt was defeated, about the year B. C. 604. Nebuchadnezzar followed up his victory, took Jerusalem, made the kingdom of Judah tributary, and was approaching the Egyptian frontier, when he received intelligence of his father's death. He returned to Babylon to take possession of the throne ; but as the Jews and other adjoining tribes endeavoured, in his absence, to

throw off the yoke, he again appeared in Syria with an army, about six years after (B. c. 598), and carrying captive the Jewish king and the greater part of the people, blotted out Judah from the number of independent realms. All the surrounding states were now compelled to yield ; and even Tyre itself, the seat of the commerce of the world, was subdued after a blockade and siege of thirteen years. But it is a groundless assertion of some writers, that Nebuchadnezzar likewise overran and depopulated Egypt, and advanced through Libya as far as the pillars of Hercules.¹³² On his return to Babylon, he enlarged and embellished his residence, probably erecting that part which lay on the west side of the Euphrates, and likewise formed new canals.¹³³ After a reign of three-and-forty-years he died in the year B. c. 562. The Chaldæo-Babylonian dynasty now hastened to its fall. Nebuchadnezzar's son and successor, Evil-Merodach,¹³⁵ (2 Kings xxv. 7. Jer. lii. 31,) who seems to have been the husband of Queen Nitocris,¹³⁶ rendered himself so detestable by his crimes, that in the second year of his reign he was murdered by his brother-in-law Neriglissar, who thereafter ascended the throne. After a reign of four years, he was succeeded by his son Laborosoarchod, then a minor, who, however, manifested so depraved a

disposition, that he was put to death by certain of the nobles, only nine months after his accession¹³⁷. They raised to the throne Nabonid or Labynet¹³⁸ (called Belshazzar in the book of Daniel), a son of Evil-Merodach, and grandson of Nebuchadnezzar.¹³⁹ During his minority, the reins of government seem to have been in the hands of his mother Nitocris. But now the extensive and consolidated power of the Medo-Persian empire under Cyrus, began to create, in all neighbouring monarchs, well-grounded fears for their independence. Nitocris perceived the danger that threatened her country, and endeavoured to secure Babylon against the invasion of the Persians by the skilful leading off of the Euphrates into new channels.¹⁴⁰ But all her precautions could not ward off the destiny which befel every other state of Western Asia. After Cyrus had made himself master of Lydia and other adjoining regions, he advanced with his army towards Babylon, which fell an easy prey to him in the year B. C. 538, the seventeenth of the reign of Nabonid, and only twenty-three years after the death of Nebuchadnezzar.¹⁴¹

[The boundaries of the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire extended as far under Nebuchadnezzar as they ever were carried, comprising Western Asia as far as the Mediteranean. Babylon was

made by Cyrus one of the capitals of his new empire. There was no city in Asia of whose possession the Persians were more jealous; and the repeated attempts of the Babylonians to shake off the foreign yoke, shew they could not cloud their remembrance of their former might and greatness, nor stifle their repugnance to dependence and slavery.

Respecting the government of the Babylonian-Chaldæan empire, some few particulars have been preserved, principally by the prophet Daniel.¹⁴¹ It appears, on the whole, to have been much the same as that of the Persian empire, which was formerly described.¹⁴² A ruler with despotic power; a court, in which eunuchs held the highest offices; an empire divided into satrapies, governed by rulers, among whom a regular gradation of rank and title was found, and where the civil and military were often, though not always, separated; collectors of tribute in the provinces; higher and inferior judges. We find also a priestcraft, or priesthood, comprised under the names of Magians and Chaldæans, and which, principally by astrology and soothsaying, had a considerable influence upon the government. In what relation to society did this class stand? and how came the term Chaldæans, which originally belonged to a people, to become the name of the priesthood? These are questions which have been often agitated, but, from want of suf-

ficient information, can never be satisfactorily answered. Although Babylon did not become a mighty empire till after the Chaldæan conquest; yet every thing leads us to suppose, that it had long before been the seat of science and civilization, though principally confined to the order of priests. Unless this had been the case, how could these great works, more especially the mighty canals and lakes, ascribed to their earlier rulers, without which the city could not have existed, or the land have been cultivated, have been executed? There is no doubt that astronomy, or rather astrology, formed a great branch of their learning; and whatever opinion may be formed of the degree of perfection to which they had carried these sciences, it seems an indisputable fact, that at the time of Alexander's conquest, astronomical observations existed, and were imparted to him, which are affirmed to reach back for nineteen centuries.

This, combined with various other proofs, seems to render it evident, that the Magians had been established in Babylon, long before its conquest by the Chaldæans. As the primitive Magian religion had its origin in the worship of the heavenly bodies, and spread itself over so large a portion of Asia, it is the less to be wondered at, that it should have made its way into Babylon, where the continual clearness of the sky, and the peculiar brightness of the stars, greatly facilitated

astronomical observations.^a Astrology, however, was the chief support of the Magians and the priesthood, and it was principally by its practice that they maintained their authority and influence in the state. Whether, however, these earliest Magians of Babylon, were disciples and followers of Zoroaster, I cannot venture to determine. The Magian doctrine, indeed, was much older than that of the Zend, as Zoroaster only appeared in the character of its reformer. How can this question be settled; when the Babylonian cylinders and gems, referring to the religion of Ormuzd, may very probably belong to the Persian period? If we admit, indeed, that the Chaldæans, and it seems very likely, were descended from the Kurds, then would they also belong to the Persian race, and could not have been strangers to the Magian doctrine, though they might have engrafted other particular points of belief upon it. And if they also had their priests, as indeed the Magian worship prescribes, there is nothing very strange in their becoming united with the Babylonian Magians. They are indeed usually mentioned with them, and are only distinguished as a separate class when spoken of definitely; though the two names are often confounded.^b

^a *Simplic.* in *Aristot. de Cœlo*, p. 123. *Comp. Plin. Nat. Hist.* VII. 56.

^b Thus, in *Herodot.* I. 133. *Ctesias*, *Pers.* I. 15.

In this manner, therefore, the Magians and Chaldæans formed the priest caste in Babylon. It is certainly possible, that, according to rule, the son succeeded the father ; but that the priest-caste was not strictly hereditary, that even foreigners might be admitted to this office, if their early education had fitted them for it, is shewn by the example of Daniel and his companions (Dan. i. 4.) At their head was the high Magian, whose influence was so great, that, upon the death of the father of Nebuchadnezzar, he administered the affairs of the empire until the arrival of that prince. They were divided into several classes, as expounders of the sacred writings, interpreters of dreams, astronomers, and soothsayers ; and again distinguished from these are the Chaldæans. They dwelt not only in the capital, but also in other places ; and among others, probably, in establishments of which the mounds of bricks spoken of above, are the remains.^a Their connection with the kings is clearly shewn, from the history of Nebuchadnezzar. Their influence was founded upon their knowledge ; but their power seems never to have been so great as in the Persian court, if we may judge from the manner in which they were treated by Nebuchadnezzar ; unless, indeed,

^a As at Akkerkoof, Al Himar, and above all, at Borsippa, where, according to Strabo, there was one of their principal schools.

we may attribute this to the personal character of that formidable conqueror.^a]

1. The name took its rise from בבל Babel, (see note 26 below), whence both the country and its metropolis were called by the Greeks and Romans, *Babylon*.

2. عراق العرب, عراق البابلي. On the name *Irak* see Vol. I. p. 178. A Latin translation by Reiske of Abulfeda's description of this province [since edited in Arab. and Lat. by Wüstenfeld], will be found in *Busching's Magazine for Hist. and Geogr.* Vol. iv. p. 250. Comp. *Golius* on Alfargani, p. 118. *D'Herbelot's Bibl. Orient.* Article, *Erac*. *Assemani's Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. P. II. p. 746. *Schultens' Geograph. Index to the Life of Saladin*, under *Irak*. *Wahl's Asia*, p. 607.

3. It is expressly said in Ezek. xii. 13: "I will carry them (the people)—בבלה ארץ כשדים to Babel in the land of the Chaldæans." Comp. *Ptolemy*, V. 18. In Acts vii. 4, the phrase γῆ Χαλδαίων occurs.

4. שנער. The Greek translators write Σενναάρ, and so likewise the Vulgate. The meaning is unknown. *Jerome* (de Nomin. Hebr. Tom. III. p. 16, of the Edit. of Vallars), explains it by "excusio dentium aut foetor eorum." He, or rather his Jewish teacher, meant that the name is compounded

^a *Heeren*, Vol. ii. p. 188—193. Comp. Notes 97—104, to this chapter.—M.

of שן *shen*, a tooth, and נער *naār* “to shake out or thrust out.” *Simonis* Onomast. V. T. p. 446, says the name שנער signifies “*excussio* s. *ejectio omnimoda*, ex שער, Arabice شجر *ejecit e loco*, Aethiopice שער, *abstulit, dimisit abiturum*, et ex נער Hebraice *excussit* (vid. Job xxxviii. 13), Chaldaice *de loco in locum transtulit*, Arabice *huc illuc profectus est, exulavit*. Nomen regionis fuit Babylonicae, sic dictae, quia homines post diluvium exinde in omnes regiones *ejecti et dispersi* sunt.” Some find Sinear in the *Singara* of Ammianus Marcellinus (xviii. 5, 7; xx. 6; xxv. 7, 9), the name of a mountain and town in Mesopotamia.

It is the ὁ Σιγγάρας ὄρος of Ptolemy, and the سنجار of Arabian historians and geographers. See *Schultens'* Index to the Life of Saladin, under *Sinsjara*. *Niebuhr* says (Trav. Vol. II. p. 388): “On the south-side of our road (from Mosul and Mardin), we saw Mount سنجار Sindsjār. It lies in an extremely fruitful plain, and has a very pure and salubrious atmosphere.” And it is remarked in the note: “Probably the *Singara* of Greek writers. The name has likewise a close resemblance to the Sinear (Shinar) of Scripture.” *Schultens* says (loc. cit.): Nec sane abludunt שנער et سنجار. Sed *Sinhar* illud circa *Babylonem* erat, longius a *Singiara* nostra distans. Ecquid *Singarenam* regionem dicemus constituisse praeter *Babylonis agrum*, oram omnem *Tigridis occidentalem usque ad montana Armeniae*? Illuc inclinat *Bochart*. Phaleg. p. 24. Crediderim potius, celebrem illum *campestem*

tractum Singiarae برية سنجار, ad Babylonem usque procurrisse, atque *Terram Sinear* fuisse appellatam."

Wahl is of a similar opinion, in his *Asia*, p. 609: "It would seem that the whole country derives its name from the mountain at whose base it lies, and which is still denominated *Ssindsyaar*. As that mountain has always been famous for its great fertility, it is possible that the name imposed on it involved something of the idea of fruitfulness, which is also to be found according to some Dictionaries, in the roots نغر and سنع, but in so slender a degree, as that nothing certain can be based on it.

5. מדבר ים.

6. *Herodot.* I. 184. *Abydenus* (in *Eusebius Præpar. Evangel.* IX. 41. p. 457) says: λέγεται δὲ πάντα μὲν εἰς ἀρχῆς ὕδωρ εἶναι, θάλασσαν καλουμένην. The different opinions on the meaning of מדבר ים "the desert of the sea," as applied to Babylon, will be found enumerated and examined in *Rosenmüller's Scholia* and *Gesenius' Comment.* on Isa. xxi. 1. Some commentators think, that the "land of Nimrod," mentioned by the prophet Micah (ch. v. 5), is a poetical description of Babylonia; but we are rather to understand by it Assyria, which is the subject of our next chapter.

7. בקעה, Gen. xi. 2.

8. See the former vol. p. 61.

9. See *Herodot.* I. 193. For other particulars respecting these canals, see *Heeren's Ideen*, Part I. Div. 1, 2, p. 149, and *Mannert's Geog.* of the Gr. and Rom. Part V. Div. 1, 2, p. 342.

10. נהרות בבל.

11. נהר מלכא. The accounts of the ancients relative to this canal, are given by *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 342. *Ker Porter* found some traces of it. *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 289.

12. *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 347. Comp. *Heeren*, loc. cit. p. 157.

13. *Mannert*, p. 349.

14. جارى زاد. *Niebuhr* takes the Djari-Zad for the Pallakopas. *Travels*, Part II. p. 223.

15. Ἀνέγνω Βαροῦχ τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου ἐν ὧσι.....πάντων τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ Σούδ (זור). *Bochart* (*Geogr. Sacr. P. I. or Phaleg. I. 8*, p. 39) conjectures that in this extract from the book of Baruch, instead of Σούδ, we should read Σούρ. The words of the Hebrew original were, as he thinks, אל נהר סור but the translator changed the ר *resh* into ד *daleth*. *Sura* is the name of one of the arms of the Euphrates mentioned by the *Sherif Edrisi* (*Clima IV. cap. 4*), upon which lay a town of the same name.

16^a. I. 185. Comp. *Heeren*, loc. cit. p. 154.

16^b. These marshy lowlands are called in Arabic بطايح *Bataich*. *Abulfeda's* remarks on the *Bataich-el-Irak*, will be found in *Reiske's* Notes to *Abulfeda's Annals* Tom. II. p. 782.

17. שכנת על-מים רבים.

18. سرداب, a Persian word, composed of *serd*, cold, and *ab*, water. *Niebuhr*, in his *Remarks on Bagdad* (*Trav. Part II. p. 293*), says: "Every inhabitant of any consequence, has, under his house, a *serdāp*, i. e. a high vaulted subterraneous apartment with a venti-

lator, a kind of chimney, which has at the top a wide opening toward the north ; for here also, as at Cairo and on the Island of Charedsh, the wind, in the hottest season, commonly blows from that quarter. In winter it never freezes so hard in Bagdad as in European countries ; yet we saw, at the beginning of February, ice of half-a-finger breadth in thickness. This, however, was regarded as an astonishing degree of cold, and we were assured that, in the course of two nights, twenty persons were frozen to death in the city alone. Nor is this at all incredible, when it is recollected that in these countries the poor go almost naked, and many of them lie all night in the streets." According to Porter, the heat of Bagdad in summer is insupportable. " The latitude of Bagdad, from the mean observations taken by Mr. Rich and others, is $33^{\circ} 19' 40''$, and the longitude, east of Greenwich, $44^{\circ} 44' 45''$. The climate, in general, has the advantage of parts of Persia, in not being variable in such violent extremes ; but then its warmest months are certainly insufferable, from the abiding effects of the forty days' prevalence of the consuming *samiel*. At that season, the thermometer frequently mounts in the shade from 120 to 140 degrees of heat, according to Fahrenheit. Hence it may easily be conceived, that winter is the most genial season here ; and the inhabitants tell me that the air then becomes soft, and of the most delightful salubrity ; particularly, they say, from the fifteenth of November to about the middle of January. At present, towards the latter end of October, while I am writing, the skirts of the ' withering blast' seem to be yet hovering over us ; the heat

standing at 90, and has been from that to 93, on an average, ever since my arrival. When the heat approaches ten degrees beyond this point, the inhabitants betake themselves to the refuge of certain arched apartments, called the Zardaub, constructed deep in the foundations of the houses for this very purpose. From this situation they can have no windows; therefore catch their glimpse of day-light as it may glimmer through the doors from the chambers above. Thin matting supplies the place of carpets, and every precaution and method is pursued that can bring coolness to these gloomy abodes, where the chief part of the natives of Bagdad pass the whole of the sultry day, while the atmosphere without retains its more scorching fires. At sunset, each family issues from their subterranean shelter, and, ascending to the top of the house, take their evening repast beneath the arch of heaven, and under the same free canopy, ‘fanned by tepid airs,’ they spread their bedding along the variously disposed divisions of the roof; whose irregular forms are so contrived, to catch every zephyr’s breath that passes. In these elevated apartments, the natives repose until the close of October, at which time the days become comparatively cool; and sudden blasts blowing up during the night from the north and south-east, render sleeping in the open air chilling and dangerous. Hence at these nocturnal hours, the good people begin to nestle into the warm corners within the house; but during the day, they describe the atmosphere to be every thing that is celestial; so clear, so balmy, so inspiriting, as to yield sufficient excuse

to the great monarchs of Persia for deserting the arid regions of their own kingdom at this season, to take up a temporary abode in the salubrious gardens of Amyites." Travels, Vol. II. p. 261. Comp. *Olivier*, Voyages, Tom. IV. p. 331.

19. Niebuhr, loc. cit. Part II. p. 227 of the original German.

20. Tom. IV. p. 335.

21. I. 193.

22. Herodot. I. 179. *Niebuhr* says, (Travels, Part II. p. 288.^a) "When mention is made of the antiquities of Babylon, we must not fancy to ourselves such splendid monuments as are to be seen in Persia and Egypt. At Persepolis, the finest of marble was found close by the city, and in the very hill where stands the far-famed palace. The limestone, of which the large pyramids, near Cairo, are constructed, was also quarried on the spot; and above that place limestone rocks frequently occur near the Nile, and farther south there are mountains of granite. But on the Euphrates and Tigris, from the Persian Gulf as far as Hillah and Bagdad, and still farther north, nothing of this kind is met with, but all is marshy ground. If the Babylonians had wished to build with hewn stones, they would have had to bring them from a great distance, and at an enormous expense.

^a *Rich* says on his Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon: "Before entering into a minute description of the ruins, it is necessary to state, that they consist of mounds of earth, composed of the decomposition of building, channelled and furrowed by the weather, and the surface of them strewn with pieces of brick, bitumen, and pottery."—M.

They therefore built their best houses of bricks, about the thickness of ours, and a foot square, and these they burned as thoroughly as any bricks I have ever seen. If they had used lime^a for a cement, we should have found many more remains of their edifices at the present day. But as they were compacted together by so slight a material, a temptation was held out to pull down the old buildings, and erect with the bricks new houses in the neighbouring towns and villages on the Euphrates. A large and fine caravanserai, at Hillah, in which I dwelt, was built, not many years ago, out of the ruins of these ancient edifices."

23. The *Is* of Herodotus, is, without doubt, the same place which is still by the Arabs called هيت, *Hît*. *Abulfeda* says, in his Description of Arabian Irak (a Latin version of which, by *Reiske*, is in *Büsching's Magazine*, Part IV. p. 256): "Hît is one of the border towns of Irak, on the west bank of the Euphrates, where vessels usually touch; there also are springs of bitumen and naphtha." I add the original, from the unpublished^b Dresden MS. هيت حد

^a Lime does seem to have been sometimes used. See *Mignan's Travels in Chaldæa, passim.*—M.

^b Since published by *Wüstenfeld*, whose Latin translation of the entire passage follows: "Hît est ad septentrionem Euphratis; dicit in el-Moschtareko: Hît est ad Euphratem et e præfecturis Bagdâdi. Dicit in el-Lobâbo: Hît est urbs ad Euphratem super el-Ambâr et in ea sepulcrum Abdallae Ben-el-Mobârek. Dicit in el-Azizico: Hît est inter limites 'Irâcae et ad occidentem Euphratis, unum de emporiis Euphratis, ubi sunt fontes picis et naphthae; inter eam et el-Câdesiam octo sunt parasangae et inter eam iterum et el-Ambâr,

من حدود العراق وهي علي غربي الفرات
 فرضة من فرض العراق وبها عيون القار والنظ

“ How faithfully, says Porter, do these vestiges agree with the method of building in Babylon, as described by Herodotus ! He observes, that the bricks intended for the walls, were formed of the clay dug from the great ditch that backed them. They were baked in large furnaces ; and in order to join them together in building, warm bitumen was used ; and between each course of thirty bricks, beds of reeds were laid interwoven together. The bitumen (he continues to tell us), is drawn from certain pits in the neighbourhood of Is, a town on the Euphrates. These pits exist to this day ; the town in their vicinity now bearing the name of Hit or Heet ; it lies about four days’ journey north-west of Bagdad, and is on the western bank of the river.” *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 361. *Olivier*, in describing the boats that ply to Bassora and Bagdad, and are covered with bitumen, says (*Voyages*, Tom IV. p. 323) : “ This bitumen is procured from the country of Hit. Some leagues to the west of that town, there are pools which every year are covered with bitumen, which the heat of the sun raises out of the bowels of the earth. The Arabs collect it at the end of summer and bring it to Bagdad. It is obtained in such abundance, that it is used not only for pitching boats, but for the coating of aqueducts, baths, cooking utensils,

21 parasangae. Secundum el-Tartib appellata est Hit (locus humilis), quia sit in cavo terrae.”—*Wüstenfeld’s Abulfeda*, p. 9.—M.

and whatever is required to be made water-proof. The clay-built walls of Babylon, were probably covered with this bitumen, to protect them against the effects of the atmosphere and damp." Comp. *D'Herbelot's* Bibl. Orient. under the article *Hit*. Bitumen is elsewhere employed as cement in building. Christ. Müller in his Travels through Greece and the Ionian Islands in 1821 (Leipz. 1822, p. 116), informs us that the bitumen of Zante, when dried in the sun, forms an almost indissoluble and indestructible cement, and is frequently used for that purpose. Comp. Gen. xi. 3, where mention is made of the לִבְנִים, or *bricks* burned in the sun, and the חֹמֶר, or bituminous pitch [in the Eng. Vers. *slime*] respecting which see also *Bochart*, Geog. Sac. Part I. Lib. I. Cap. ii. 44, and *Rosenmüller's* Morgenland, Part I. No. 24. On the different kinds of naphtha,^a and the different uses to which it is applied, see *Kämpfer's* Amoenitt. Exot. Fascic. II. p. 273. *Gmelin's* Travels, Part III. p. 47, and *Niebuhr's* Travels, Part II. p. 336.

24. See *Niebuhr*, loc. cit. and *Ker Porter*, loc. cit. p. 360. Comp. *Heeren's* Ideem, Part I. Div. 2, p. 161.

25. שֶׁךְ. According to the Rabbinical opinion, mentioned by St. Jerome (see his Comment. on Jerem. xxv. 26), this name was equivalent to בָּבֶל, Babel, being interpreted according to the Cabbalistic form אֶתְבַּשׁ (*Athbash*), in which ת is put for א, ש for ב,

^a In its most liquid state it is called *naphtha*, and according to its degree of consistency, becomes *petroleum*, *elastic bitumen*, *maltha*, and *asphaltum*.---M.

and כ for ל.^a The prophet, they supposed, employed this mystical name of Babel, that he might not irritate the Chaldæans, who were then besieging Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar. But that this is a groundless conjecture, appears from the circumstance, that in chap. li. 41, Babel is in one verse spoken of under its real name, and in the next under the name of Sheshak. *Calmet* supposes (in his *Comment.* and his *Dictionary* under *Sesach*), that this was the name of a Babylonian deity, perhaps the moon; but in that case, the expression “the king of Sheshach,” (Jer. xxv. 26), would be inapplicable. *Simonis*, in his *Onomast.* p. 576, explains the name by *habitatio secura*, from שוש, and שיש, to *dwell, to rest*, whence, in Syr. ܫܫܐ, *rest*, with the final syllable ܫ=, as in ܓܢܝܐ *a treasury*, from ܓܢܝ *treasure*. *J. D. Michaelis* (Suppl. ad Lex. Heb. p. 2357), thinks ששך became a lofty, poetical designation of Babylon, from سَكَّ lamina ferrea obduxit portam, seeing that, according to *Abydenus*, in *Eusebius* (Præp. Evang. IX. 41), Nebuchadnezzar strengthened the gates of Babylon

^a They divide the Hebrew alphabet into two equal parts, ranging the second in a line under the first. When ל, מ, &c. are placed under א, ב, &c. they call it אלבם *Albam*, and when reversing the order of letters in the underline, ת is under א, ש under ב, &c. they call it אתבש *Athbash*. It is the latter to which reference is here made, the two *shins* in ששך, corresponding to the two *beths* in בבל, and the *caph* of the former, to the *lamed* of the latter. The Chald. has in this place ומלכא דבבל. In Jer. li. 1, the words לב קמי become by this kind of transposition כשדים *Casdim*, the Chaldæans.—M.

with plates of iron, whence that writer styles the city *χαλκόπυλον*. But the most plausible explanation is that proposed by *Von Bohlen*, in his *Symbol. ad Interpret. Sac. Cod. ex Ling. Pers.* p. 22. He thinks *שש* is synonymous with the Persian *شاه شاه Schih-Schah*, i. e. domus principis, He fortius prolato, ut in *براهمین Brachman*, *پاخمان*, *βόμβη*, *βουβη*, etc. Instead of *شاه* (which in *Castellus* and *Richardson* properly signifies “a court or front court,”) we might take *شهر Shahr* or *Shehr*, “a town.” Only it is doubtful whether, at so early a period as the age of *Jeremiah*, *Babel* could have received a Persian name that would be known in *Judæa*.

26. *בלבל* from *בלל* to confound, instead of *בלבל*, for which also in *Syr.* ܒܠܒܠ; so in like manner the *Syrians* use ܒܠܒܠ for *bells*; ܒܠܒܠ for *a skull*. Comp. *Gesenius*, *Lehrgeb. d. Hebr. Sprach.* p. 134. Some of the ancients derive the name of *Babel* from *Belus*, the supposed founder. So the *Ety-mol. Magnum*: *Βαβυλων...εἴρηται ἀπὸ τοῦ Βήλου, ὃς κτίσας αὐτὴν, ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ προσηγόρευσε*. This is likewise the opinion of *Eichhorn* in his *Program*: *Declarantur diversitatis linguarum ex traditione Semitica origines*. *Göttingen*, 1788; reprinted in the *Allgem. Biblioth. d. Bibl. Literat.* Vol. iii. p. 981. He explains the name of *Babel* by *باب بل* i. e. *Bel’s Gate* or *Court*. In that case *בל* would be a contraction for *בעל*. “*A bel est contractum בל, gutturali elisâ, quod Chaldæis*

est usitatum," says *Buxtorf* in his *Lexic. Chald. Talmud.* p. 333.

27. This is the simple and only sense to be attached to the passage in *Gen. xi. 4*, agreeably to the Hebrew *usus loquendi*. But it has been sadly tortured to a different meaning, by interpreters both ancient and modern. Several of the opinions have been enumerated and refuted by *Faber*, in his *Archæology of the Hebrews*, p. 208; yet his own exposition is as open to objection as any. He would render עשׂ "a god or deity" (referring to *Levit. xxiv. 11, 16. Deut. xxviii. 58*), and פּוּץ to overflow or inundate (comp. *فيض*), translating the whole verse thus: "Let us make to ourselves a god, that we may not be inundated in any part of the earth."^a The erroneousness of this interpretation has been shewn by *Hetzel*, in his *Thoughts upon the Building of the City and Tower of Babel* (*Hildburghausen, 1774, 8vo. p. 76*); yet that writer's own exposition is no less unsatisfactory. He would translate: "Let us take to ourselves a peculiar name, so that we may not be separated from each other, nor be scattered

^a That the tower was to be erected as a safeguard against a second flood, seems to have been the opinion of *Josephus* (*Ant. I. 4*), as well as of *Nic. Lyra* in his *Scholia. Perizonius*, in his learned but somewhat fanciful work, "*Origines Babylonicæ*," p. 236, thinks that עשׂ denotes here a "sign" or beacon, which might be a rallying point to all in the flat country

of Shinar. He refers to the similar use of عِشَار in Arabic, the root being عِش , *eminuit, excelsus fuit.*—M.

over the earth." But besides that the phrase, "to make one's self a name," has never the sense here assigned to it,—it is difficult to perceive how the assumption of a new and peculiar name could have hindered their dispersion. *Kelle* ("the Holy Scriptures in their primitive form," Part II. p. 37) renders it: "We must make ourselves a name, yet let us not scatter ourselves over the earth,"—and he supposes (contrary to the whole tenor of the narrative) that, in building the tower, they were actuated solely by ambition, and not by the wish to prevent their own dispersion. According to *Eichhorn* (in the Dissert. quoted in note 26) the narrative is a historical mythus, intended to account for the variety of language among men, which was felt to be a barrier to intercourse and trade, and to represent it as a punishment from heaven. But it is inconceivable how the incidents related could have found currency among so many tribes of the East, if they had not had a basis of historical truth. For other hypotheses see *Kanngiessers' Grundrisse d. Alterthumswissensch.* p. 61. Comp. *Volney Recherches Nouvelles sur l'Hist. Ancienne*, P. I. p. 7, P. III. p. 14, *note*; and the author's *Scholia on Genesis*, Part I. Vol. I. p. 240 and 236 of the third edition.

28. *Abydenus*, the author of an Assyrian history, which has long since perished, says, in a fragment preserved by Eusebius (*Præpar. Evang.* IX. 14), that some related "that the first men who were upon the earth, relying on their strength and greatness, despising the gods, and thinking themselves superior to them, undertook to build a high tower on the spot where

Babylon now stands; that the tower had nearly reached to heaven, when the winds coming to the help of the gods, threw down the immense mass of stones upon the heads of the builders, and that Babylon took its rise from these ruins. And whereas before that period all men had but one language, they now began to speak different tongues." This agrees almost literally with what *Moses of Chorene* cites in his *Armenian History* (I. 8), from *Maribas* of Catina, who had taken his account from an ancient Chaldee work in the royal Assyrian library at Nineveh, which, by command of Alexander the Great, was translated into Greek. "From the gods," it is there said, "who inhabited the earth in the first ages, there sprang the race of giants of immense size, and of the strongest bodily frame. Full of insolent daring, they formed the ambitious design to build a lofty tower. But while they were employed in the erection, a dreadful tempest, raised by the gods, destroyed the huge edifice, and scattered among them unknown words, whence arose discord and confusion." The Sybilline oracle contains a similar tradition. It is reported by *Josephus* (*Antiqq.* I. 4, 3), and will be found in the Greek work edited by *Gallæus*, Book III. p. 336, with which comp. his *Dissert. de Sibyllis*, p. 459.

29. *Ctesias* in *Diodor. Siculus*, II. 7, p. 120, of Wesseling's edit. He says that Semiramis, who was regarded by the Assyrians as the founder of Babylon, employed two millions of her subjects, from all parts of her empire, in forced labours at the building of the city and the tower of Belus. "What an extra-

ordinary spectacle," says *Volney*, " must such an assemblage of men have been, differing in colour, dress, manners, customs, and, most of all, in language, for in the vast empire of Semiramis, more than eighty different languages or dialects must have been spoken." *Recherches Nouvelles sur l'Hist. Ancienne*, P. I. p. 1, 7, and Part III. p. 8, 14. Comp. *Strabo*, XVI. 1, 2. According to another account by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, XXIII. 6, 23, the erection of Babylon is ascribed to Ninus.

30. *Præpar. Evang.* IX. 41. Megasthenes, a Greek historian, lived at the court of Seleucus Nicator, King of Babylon, about the year 280 B. C.

31. In *Lib. I. contra Apion*, § 19. Berosus, who was of a priestly family of Babylon, flourished shortly after Megasthenes. See *Volney*, loc. cit. p. 18, note. His Chaldee Antiquities, fragments of which have been preserved by Josephus and Eusebius, were highly valued by the ancients.

32. Hence, says Nebuchadnezzar (*Dan. iv. 27*): " Is not this the great Babylon, which I have built by my great power, as a royal residence, and as a monument of my glory?" The verb בנה like the Syr. ܒܢܐ is sometimes used of the enlarging and fortifying a town, *e. g.* 2 Kings xiv. 22. 2 Chron. xi. 5, 6. *Berosus* says (as quoted in *Josephus*, *Ant.* x. 11, 1), that Nebuchadnezzar enlarged Babylon by one-half its former size, having restored that part of the city which lay on the west bank of the Euphrates. He likewise adorned it with magnificent edifices, some of which, however, he did not live to finish.

33. I. 178, et seqq. The descriptions of Babylon

by Herodotus, and other ancient authors, are admirably illustrated, and compared with the accounts given by modern travellers of the present ruins, by *Rennel* in his "Geography of Herodotus," [London, 1800.]

34. To this there is a reference in Isa. xlv. 2, where Jehovah says to Cyrus, the conqueror of Babylon :

I will go before thee and level the heaps :

Brazen gates I will burst, and iron bars I will sever.^a

35. These accounts of the extent and regular construction of ancient Babylon have, by some, been regarded as the exaggerations of fancy. But *Heeren* (*Ideen* I. 2, p. 173) brings forward, as a very similar counterpart from the modern history of Asia, the description which the Venetian Marco Polo (who travelled in the second part of the thirteenth century) has given of a city, which was built by Kublai Khan, the successor of Jingis Khan, and called by him Taidu. "This city," says he, "is twenty-four [Italian] miles in circumference. No side is longer than another, but each six miles. Round the city runs a wall, which, at the base, is ten paces thick, but narrower at the top. All the streets of the city are built in exact lines ; so that a person standing at one gate of the wall can see the opposite. The sections also for the dwellings are square. In every part are large palaces, surrounded with spacious courts and gardens ; so that the whole city is divided into squares similar to a draft-board. The wall has

^a See Vol. I. p. 215.—M.

twelve gates, three on each side; and at each gate is a large and splendid palace, with roomy halls, in which are the arms of the guards. About the city are spacious suburbs, or open places, extending for three or four miles, and joining one another. In these are great caravanserais, where the merchants abide who arrive from different countries, each nation having its own separate one. If we reckon, in addition to this new town, the ancient city (Cambalu, now Peking), beside which it was erected—the imperial residence, which had an immense circuit of its own—and the spacious suburbs and caravanserais—then, as Heeren remarks, Peking, as seen by Marco Polo, was much a larger city than ancient Babylon.

36. See *Gesenius* on the idols of the Chaldæans, in the second part of his *Coment. on Isaiah*, p. 335.

37. See *Volney*, ut antea, Part III. p. 72.

38. The tower thus assumes a pyramidal form, whence *Strabo* calls it a *four-cornered pyramid*, τετραγώνῳ τετραγώνος, XVI. 1, 5.

39. These gardens are so described by *Berosus* in *Josephus*, *Antiqq.* X. 11, 1, and *Contr. Apion*, I. 19. *Diodorus Siculus*, II. 10, *Strabo*, XVI. 1, 2, and *Quintus Curtius*, V. 1, 32. According to Berosus, they were constructed by Nebuchadnezzar, in order to exhibit to his wife, who was a native of Media, an imitation of the mountain landscapes to which she had been accustomed in her own country, but which nature had denied to the flat plains of Babylonia. *Goguet* (*On the Origin of Laws, &c.* Part III. p. 51), holds the accounts given by the ancients of the Babylonian gardens to be fabulous, and for no other reason

than the silence of Herodotus. But the futility of this objection has been ably shewn by *J. F. Roos*, in his *Beiträgen zur Historischen Kritik*, p. 7, et seqq. Perhaps to Herodotus there was nothing in these gardens so singular or striking. There was at Thebes in Egypt, a garden of this kind, of which *Pliny* speaks in his *Nat. Hist.* XXXVI. 14; and in after times the Romans imitated these establishments, by laying out gardens on the tops of their houses. *Seneca* in his *Thyestes*, V. 465, introduces a Greek prince speaking of a *silva culminibus imposita et nutante*;^a and in his 122d Epistle, he exclaims against the *nemora in summis turribus et silvas in tectis domorum ac fastigiis nutantes*. In like manner *Tibullus* (Book III. Eleg. 3, v. 15), expresses displeasure at the *nemora in domibus sacros imitantia lucos*.

40. *Quintus Curtius* says (v. 1): *Nihil urbis ejus corruptius moribus, nec ad irritandas illiciendasque immodicas voluptates instructius. Liberos conjugesque cum hospitibus stupro coire, modo pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur. Convivales ludi tota Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt. Babylonii maxime in vinum, et quae ebrietatem sequuntur,*

^a His words are :

“ Non thure colimur ; nec meæ, excluso Jove,
Ornantur aræ ; nulla culminibus meis
Imposita nutat silva.”

Bellermann alludes to similar gardens heated by ovens, placed in subterraneous vaults, and thus preserved green through the winter, in the imperial hermitage at St. Petersburg. *Handbuch*, Vol. III. p. 355.—M.

effusi sunt. Feminarum convivia ineuntium in principio modestus est habitus, dein summa quaeque amacula exuunt, paulatimque pudorem profanant; ad ultimum (honus auribus sit) ima corporum velamenta projiciunt: nec meretricum hoc dedecus est, sed matronarum virginumque, apud quas comitas habetur vulgati corporis vilitas.

41. The disgusting honours paid to the planet Venus (*Myllitta*, *Anaitis*) are described by Herodotus, I. 199.

42. Both *Herodotus* (I. 191), and *Xenophon* (Cyrop. VII. 5), agree in the statement, that Cyrus took Babylon in a night, when the inhabitants, blindly confiding in the supposed impregnability of their city, had, on the occasion of a festival, recklessly given themselves up to banqueting and debauchery. Comp. *Norberg's* *Excidium Babylonis* a Xenophonte illustratum in his *Select. Opp. Academic.* P. III. p. 222. This is conformable to Daniel's narrative (ch. v.) of the death of Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon, on the "night that he made a great feast to his lords." According to the accounts of profane historians (see below, Note 141), the king was not in the city at the time of its capture. Cyrus had previously caused the Pallakopas to be drained, which was the canal on the west side of the town, that carried off the superfluous water of the Euphrates into the Lake of Nicotris. He then led the river away in that direction, by which the main channel became so shallow, that his troops thereby penetrated into the city. Several expositors (among others *J. D. Michaelis* and *Eichhorn* in "the Hebrew Prophets," Vol. iii. p. 279), find a distinct prediction of this circumstance by Jeremiah in his

prophetic description of Babylon's overthrow (Jer. li. 31, 32):

Courier runs to meet courier,
And messenger to meet messenger,
To tell the king of Babylon
That his whole city is taken.
The fords are occupied :
The marshy-reed is burned with fire,
And the men of war are struck with affright.

Others,^a see a predictive allusion to the festive mirth in which the Babylonians were found, in Isa. xxi. 5. "The night of my pleasure hath he turned into fear;" and still more pointedly in Jer. li. 39 :

In their heat I will supply them with drink,
And I will make them drink, that they may exult,
And may sleep an everlasting sleep,
And never wake again—saith Jehovah.

43. According to *Berosus* in Joseph. contra Apion. I. 20. Yet *Herodotus* says, that Cyrus left the walls and gates uninjured. See the next note.

44. *Herodotus* III. 159: Βαβυλῶν μὲν νῦν οὕτω το-
δεύτερον αἰρέθη. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἐκράτησε τῶν Βαβυλων-
ίων, τοῦτο μὲν σφέων τὸ τεῖχος περιῆλε, καὶ τὰς πύλας
πάσας ἀπέσπασε· τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἑλὼν Κύρος τὴν Βαβυ-
λῶνα, ἐποίησε τουτέων οὐδέτερον.

45. XVI. 1, 5.

46. II. 27.

47. Arcad. cap. 33. A history of the gradual de-

^a The author (quoting in his support *Gesenius* Comment. on Isaiah, p. 650), denies that there is any thing *prophetic* in these passages, merely upon the trivial ground that the circumstances might have been foreseen or conjectured.—M.

cay of Babylon has been given by the *Baron de Sainte Croix* in his Dissertation, Sur le Ruine de Babylone pour servir d'éclaircissement au xiii. chap. d'Isaie et au li. de Jeremie, in his Mémoires sur divers sujets inserés dans les Volumes XLVII. XLVIII. XLIX. et L. du Recueil de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris, 1808.

48. *Assemani* says in his Biblioth. Orient. Tom. III. P. II. p. 725. Babylonis antiquae civitatis vestigia usque ad Theodosii Magni tempora superfuisse, testatur Amrus in vita Kajumae, Seleuciensis Archiepiscopi: hunc enim refert instaurasse Babylonis ecclesiam in lacu Danielis Prophetæ olim excitatam, quam Judaei destruxerant, monachosque ibi collocasse.

49. See *Abulfeda* in Busching's Magazine, Part IV. p. 258.^a I here give the words of the original, from the Dresden MS.: بابل وبها القي

ابرهيم الخليل عم في النار وهي اليوم خراب وقد

^a This reference is to *Reiske's* Latin Version of *Abulfeda*. The original of the *Tabulæ Iracæ*, &c. has since been published by *Wüstenfeld*, whose Latin version of the above cited passage is as follows: "In urbe Bâbel coniectus est Abraham, cui pax sit! in ignem, hodieque desolata est jamque successit in locum ejus pagus parvus. Dicit Ibn Haucal: Bâbel est pagus parvus, est tamen antiquissimum Iracæ monumentum, totaque hæc provincia ab eo denominata est ob ejus antiquitatem; ibi olim reges Kananæi et alii solebant versari. Sunt ibi rudera ædificiorum quæ suspicionem mihi faciunt, fuisse quondam ibi urbem magnam. Dicunt ed-Dahhakum primum fuisse conditorem Bâbeli." *Wüstenfeld's* *Abulfeda*, p. 15.—M.

صار في موضعها قرية صغيرة قال ابن حوقل وبابل قرية صغيرة الا انها اقدم ابنية العراق ونسب ذلك الاقليم اليها اقدمها وكانت ملوك الكنعانيين وغيرهم يقيمون بها وبها اثار ابنية احسبها كانت في قديم الايام مصرًا عظيمًا ويقال Babel (here follows the longitude and latitude). Here Abraham, the friend of God, upon whom be peace! was thrown into the fire. At the present day the city lies waste, and on its site there is a small village. Ibn-Haukal says, Babel is a small village, yet it is the oldest place of Irak, and after it, in ancient times, the whole province was named. Here the Canaanitish and other kings used to dwell. There are here the remains of buildings, which, as I conjecture, formed at a remote period, a great metropolis. It is said that Dhohak first built Babel." [The tradition respecting Abraham is, that, refusing to worship idols, he was cast into the fire by order of Nimrod, but came out unscathed]. Dhohak was the fifth king of the first dynasty of Persian monarchs, called the Paishdadians,^a

^a That is, "the distributors of justice." The first of them was Kaiomurs; the fourth, the famous Jemshid, said to have been dethroned by this Dhohak (written by English historians Zohauk) who was, in his turn, overthrown by the patriotic exertions of the blacksmith Kawah. It is a curious confirmation of these early traditions, that the apron, which is said to have been used by the blacksmith as his ensign, long continued

whose history is wrapt in the obscurity of early fable. He is said to have been by birth an Arabian [accord-to others a Syrian], and is delineated as a ruthless tyrant. The various and somewhat contradictory traditions regarding him, have been collected by *D'Herbelot*, in the article devoted to his name, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

50. Travels, Part I. Letter 17th. Babylon had been previously mentioned by *Maundeville*, in the fourteenth, and by *Rauwolf*, in the sixteenth century ; but neither of them visited the ruins. Of the uncertain and partly fabulous statements of Benjamin of Tudela, we make no account. [Of Babylon in the middle ages, Ker Porter says (Vol. II. p. 336) : “ The style of impossible approach in which it was long considered, when thought of at all, may be gathered from Sir John Maundeville, who travelled over Asia, A. D. 1322. He writes ‘ that Babylone is in the grete desertes of Arabye, upon the waye as men gon towarde the kyngdome of Caldee. But it is fulle longe sithe ony man durste neyhe to the toure ; for it is alle deserte and full of dragons and grete serpentes, and fulle dyverse veneymouse bestes all abouten.’ These impressions remained until the journey thither by *Pietro della Valle*, in the year 1616, which indeed ‘ cast her forth from her grave,’ and re-awakened learned men to a new interest in what Babylon had been, and what it still was ; the antiquarian, rejoicing in the ancient specimens of the arts it might present to be the Persian standard (under the name of Durufish e Kawanee) until its capture by the Mahometans under the calif Omar. —M.

to his curiosity ; the historian and divine, in the connecting lights its present appearance might throw on history and religion. From succeeding travellers, Père Emanuel, Niebuhr, Beauchamp, &c. we have had accounts of different parts of the remains ; but amongst them all, none seem to have gone so far into the desert as to notice the Birs Nimrod, excepting the two first ; and the one could not approach near enough to make the observations he wished ; while the other observed to so little purpose, ‘ that, if we may judge from the inaccurate description he gives (remarks Mr. Rich), he might as well never have seen it all.’^a As to *Rauwolf*, he mistook for the remains of Babylon, certain ruins near the village of Felugo, or Felujiah, upon the Euphrates, opposite Bagdad.

Rauwolf was a German physician, who travelled in Babylonia, in the year 1574. He says: “ By a small village on the *Euphrates*, called Eulego or Felugo, is the seat of the old Babylon, a day and a half’s journey from Bagdad. The lands about it are so dry and desolate, that one may justly doubt the fertility of it, and the greatness of this city, if the vast ruins still to be seen, did not banish all suspicion. There are still standing some arches of a bridge over the river, which is here half a mile broad, and exceeding deep. These arches are built of bricks, and wonderfully compacted. A quarter of a mile beneath the village, in a plain, are the fallen ruins of a castle, and beyond that, the ruins of the tower of Babel, half a

^a *Beauchamp’s* Memoire sur les Antiquités Babyloniennes appeared in the *Journal des Savans* for December 1790, p. 797.—M.

German mile in compass, which is now a receptacle of serpents and venomous creatures. A little above the fall of the Tigris into the Euphrates, is a city now called Trax, formerly Assamea. All that travel over these plains will find vast numbers of the ruins of very ancient, great, and lofty buildings, arched towers, and other such like structures, of wonderful architecture. There is only one tower, which is called Daniel's, still entire and inhabited, from whence may be seen all the ruins of this once vast city, which sufficiently demonstrate the truth of what ancient writers have said of its greatness, by the vastness of their extent."]

51. *Rich's* Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon. The third edition appeared at London in 1818. *Porter's* (Sir R. K.) Travels. 2 vols. 4to.

52. *Ker Porter* remarks (Travels, Vol. II. p. 337): "When we consider that so many centuries have passed, since Babylon became a deserted habitation, and that it yet lay in the neighbourhood of populous nations, our surprise ought to be, not that we find so little of its remains, but that we see so much. From her fallen towers have arisen, not only all the present cities in her vicinity, but others which, like herself, are long ago gone down into the dust. Since the days of Alexander, we find four capitals at least, built out of her remains. Seleucia by the Greeks, Ctesiphon by the Parthians, Al Maidan^a by the Persians, Kufa by the Caliphs, with towns, villages, and caravansaries without number. Bagdad too, (had it not most probably completed its walls from a nearer neighbour, the ruins of the city which appears to have occupied

^a So in the original of Ker Porter; but it ought to be Al Madain, *i. e.* The Cities.—M.

the tract of Akkarkouff), might, by some trouble, boast its towers from the great parent city also. That the fragments of one city should travel so far to build or repair the breaches of another, on the first view of the subject, appeared unlikely to myself, but on traversing the country between the approximating shores of the two rivers, and observing all the facilities of water carriage from one side to the other, I could no longer be incredulous of what had been told me; particularly when scarce a day passed without my seeing people digging the mounds of Babylon for bricks, which they carried to the verge of the Euphrates, and thence conveyed in boats to wherever they might be wanted. From the consequent excavations in every possible shape and direction, the regular lines of the original ruins have been so broken, that nothing but confusion is seen to exist between one course and another, when any traveller would attempt seeking a distinct plain amongst those eternally traversing minor heaps, hollows and ravines. But certain huge and rugged masses yet stand pre-eminent; which, by their situation and other local circumstances, seem sufficiently to warrant the conclusions which have been drawn of their original purpose. These vaster mounds are surrounded by subordinate ranges, now bearing the appearance of embankments, and which, doubtless, have been the cause of the interior pile's comparatively unimpaired state. The yearly overflowing of the whole country, from the decay of the canals made to draw off the superflux of the river, having for ages swept unimpeded over the faces of all the ruins which had not the protection of these—I may call them

break-waters, could not fail producing the devastation we see. All such exposed parts of the city, must necessarily be thrown down into wider and more shapeless ruins, and be gradually washed down into lower and lower hillocks, till, in most places, all traces would be entirely swept away."

53. "The natives call it Mukallibé (مقلبة), or, according to the vulgar Arab pronunciation of these parts *Mujelibè*, meaning *overturned*." Rich in his *Memoir*. *Ker Porter* (Vol. II. p. 339), writes *Macloubé*, which has the same meaning. In *Abulfeda* (Tab. Syriæ p. 12), the country round the Dead Sea is called الارض المقلوبة *the overturned, destroyed land*.

54. *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 346.

55. *Herodotus*, I. 181. Berosus in *Joseph. Ant.* X. 11, 1. *Diodorus Siculus*, II. 8.

56. ^{قصر} القصر.

57. ^{قصر} اثل, اشل. It means properly *a tamarisk*, but is also used of other similar trees.

58. *Travels*, II. p. 312. [His words are: "The cement which holds the bricks together, that compose the ruin on the summit of the Birs, is so hard that my most violent attempts could not separate them. Hence I failed in discovering whether these bore any inscriptive stamps on their surface; marks invariably found, where they exist at all, on the side of the bricks which faces downwards. Why they were so placed, we cannot guess; but so it is in all primitive remains of ancient Babylonia; but in the more mo-

dern structures of Bagdad, Hillah, and other places erected out of her spoils, these inscribed bricks are seen facing in all directions. While on the summit of the Birs, I examined many of the fine brick fragments, which lay near the foot of the piece of standing wall, to see whether bitumen had been used any where in their adhesion, but I could not trace the smallest bit. The cement throughout was lime, spread in a very thin layer, not thicker than a quarter of an inch between each brick and its neighbour; and thin as this cement was laid, it contained a spreading of straw through the midst of it.”]

59. “ Other remains of Babylon are to be seen, a German mile and a quarter south-west of Helle (Hillah), on the west bank of the Euphrates. Here is an entire hill composed of the beautiful bricks formerly mentioned, and on the top stands a tower, the interior of which seems to have been built of these burnt bricks—the outer walls are decayed through time. It is perforated with a number of holes, which had probably been opened for the free circulation of air and the prevention of damp. At the period when Babylon was in its glory, and the surrounding country in a state of high cultivation, this tower must have afforded an excellent prospect on all sides; for Mesched Ali seems to lie at its foot, though it be at least six leagues distant. I had seen this tower or heap of stones on my first journey to Helle, when I took it for an ancient watch-tower. My attendants called it *Birs Nimrod*, and related that a king of that name had built here a large and splendid palace; that when it

thundered, he shot up arrows into the air as if warring with God; that he boasted of having wounded God, shewing a bloody arrow which had fallen down from the sky; that God had punished him with insects, which proved so dreadful an annoyance, that he could find no rest in his palace, and was at last killed by them, &c.^a In Helle I had no opportunity of becoming acquainted with any Mahomedan doctors except the Cadi, and he knew nothing more than the popular story. But after I had read what Herodotus says (Book I. § 170) of the temple of Belus and its strong tower, I thought it highly probable that this might be the remains of it, and am therefore anxious that some succeeding traveller should accurately examine and describe it. I made the journey thither, accompanied only by a single guide, and I had seen but a little of the monument, when I perceived some Arabs reconnoitring us, and deemed it safest to ride back to the town. Had I supposed I was so near the Tower of Babylon, I should certainly have risked more for a closer survey." *Niebuhr's Travels*, (Ger.) Vol. I. p. 289.

60. A positive proof of the temple of Belus having been on the west bank of the river is adduced by *Ker Porter*. [The following is his statement of it: "I am aware of the commonly received opinion, that this celebrated temple stood on the eastern side of the river; arising, rather unreasonably it might seem, from the evidence of only one classic writer, and Diodorus Siculus that writer, who had never been near the remains of the city, and who,

^a These, and other traditions respecting Nimrod, will be found in *D'Herb lot*, in the article *Nimrod*.—M.

in other respects, has been shewn an inaccurate collector of facts; while neither Herodotus, who had been on the very spot, nor any other ancient author on the subject, say one word decisive on the matter. But modern commentators appear to have something more than a single testimony to maintain the argument with them; they can support the temple of Belus on the eastern shore by the ocular evidences of those travellers who, though visiting Babylon, had never seen Birs Nimrood; and taking it for granted, from the apparent long level of the opposite shore, that no considerable ruins could be there, they at once embrace the single assertion of Diodorus, and in harmony with it, pronounced the huge mass of Mujelibé to be that of Babel and Jupiter Belus: the palace they cannot fail recognising; and thus, in fact, all the greatest objects of a city, which covered nearly fifty miles of ground, are crushed up into the comparatively narrow space which had only formed the acropolis of its palace. But since the judicious investigation of the Birs Nimrood by Mr. Rich, and the conclusions he thence draws in favour of its claim to the honours of the great temple, it appears to me that unprejudiced opinion must change to his view of the argument; and one inference in support of the temple having been in the western division of the town, and hence on this side of the Euphrates, I would deduce from a circumstance (which I am aware has been quoted to a different conclusion) that took place when Babylon was taken by Darius Hystaspes, through the treachery of Zopyrus, who opened the Belidian and Cissian (or Susa) gates, to admit the Persian soldiers. The

gates were near to each other, that is, on the same side of the town ; and the Cissian or Susa gate, pointing to the celebrated Persian capital of that name, proves that the army entered from the east. In the tumult of this surprise, the Babylonians fled and took refuge in the temple of Belus.

It is now generally acknowledged by all who study oriental subjects, that it was an ancient custom in the East (and the practice remains to this day), to name the gates of a city, not from objects within the walls, but from outward places to which they led. Had the alarmed Babylonians fled through the Belidian gate to the temple of Belus (which some writers would infer), the fugitives must have ran on the very pikes of the entering Persians. This being an impossibility to suppose, the Belidian gate could not have received its name from the temple ; but, according to Mr. Rich's suggestion, most probably from some now forgotten town, eastward of the city. Hence the natural fact appears to have been this : that the people, finding the eastern gates possessed by the enemy, and the invaders pressing forward to make themselves masters of the castellated palace on that side, would instinctively seek shelter in the strongest and most distant places they could reach in any time to escape the enemy ; and what so apparent as the temple of Belus, on the opposite shore of the river, (a safeguard in itself!) and situated in the furthest western extremity of the city ; and which was also doubly fortified by its brazen gates, and lofty walls ? Besides, had this temple been any where in the eastern quarter, the people would rather have avoided than fled to it ; it being one of the first places, in such a case, to which

the Persian soldiers would have hurried, for the plunder of its treasury. Porter's Trav. Vol. II. p. 383.]

The ancient traditions preserved by the people of the country, in reference to this group of ruins, and the fact of the Birs still presenting visible traces of a tower, consisting of different stories rising on one another, are confirmatory evidences to the same effect. Some travellers have confounded this tower on the south-west bank of the Euphrates, with another ruin of a similar name, which stands on the height of Akkerkoof, two leagues and a half north-west of Bagdad, and not far from the Tigris. See *Niebuhr's Travels*, Part II. p. 305. *Ker Porter*, who gives a description and drawing of this ruin (Vol. II. p. 275, Plate 68), remarks that it is called by the Arabs, *Tell-Nimroud*, and by the Turks, *Nemroud Tepassé*, which both signify "Nimrod's Hill." But it is described under the name of Nimrod's *Tower* by *Ives* in his Travels, Part II, and by *Olivier* in his Voyages, Tom. IV. p. 397, et seqq.

[On a question which has excited so much interest as the site of the Tower of Babel, it may be useful to the student to have the opinions of such a man as Heeren of Göttingen. This learned and judicious writer, after giving an account of the appearance of the ruins from recent travellers, arrives at the following general conclusions, which are here presented in a condensed form.

First. The accounts given by the ancients, and especially by Herodotus, respecting the extent and situation of ancient Babylon, seem to be confirmed by the investigations of the moderns, quite as much as

could be expected, considering the nature of the ruins. The length of ancient Babylon, from north to south, may be estimated at twelve miles.

Secondly. It is not only proved from the most recent investigations, that ancient Babylon was situated on the banks of the Euphrates, and that the course of this river has undergone no important change; but it also becomes highly probable, that the *western* part of the city, the existence of which has been doubted, was the largest.

Thirdly. Sir R. K. Porter is correct in considering the western quarter of the city as the most ancient.

Fourthly. The tower of Nimrod is the ancient temple of Bel, which, therefore, was in the *western* quarter of the city, and not in the eastern, as was formerly believed. For the Birs Nimrod corresponds to the ancient temple *in form*;—of the eight stories which it originally had, three can still be made out. It corresponds in *dimensions*, for its length and breadth agrees with what is stated by Herodotus, so far as they can be determined from a mountain heap of ruins. It corresponds, finally, with the statement of the same historian, that this pyramidal sanctuary stood within a quadrangular enclosure, the remains of which are still clearly to be traced. It is nowhere said that the temple of Bel was erected in the eastern quarter of the city: but only that it stood in the midst of one quarter.

Fifthly. If the Birs Nimrod be the ancient temple of Bel, then it must be admitted that it belongs to the oldest ruins of Babylon; or rather, that it is *the* oldest. There seems nothing to oppose to this fact,

while all seems to speak in favour of its being the remains of that primæval building, erected by the assembly of nations, whose top should reach to heaven, but whose completion was prevented by Jehovah. It may be assumed that its site was westward of the stream, because it was built by the descendants of Noah, when they were journeying from west to east. “As they now journeyed towards the east,”^a it is said “they found a plain in the land of Shinar and dwelt therein.” It was built of the same material as that of which the ruin consists. There is no reason why so mighty a building should have been entirely swept from the earth, in so dry and favourable a climate, where so many smaller have been preserved. Its preservation seems, in some measure, accounted for, from its having been, after the adoption of the worship of the stars, the temple of the national deity; (whether, as I believe, the sun, or, as some others think, the planet Jupiter^b;) and, likewise, the astrological sanctuary. It is almost needless to add, that this supposition in no way militates against the gradual additions, aggrandisement, and embellishments which it afterwards received, and which were again, in the course of centuries, reduced to ruins. Neither can any thing be argued against its high antiquity from bricks with inscriptions having been found amongst its ruins. The only question here is respecting the original foundation—the first and mightiest that the hand of man erected; and

^a In the Eng. Vers. it is “*from the east.*”

^b *Gesenius* on Isaiah, Vol. ii. p. 395.

what higher confirmation can there be of the most ancient record we possess, than the existence of the most ancient monuments mentioned by its inspired author?

Sixthly: Modern investigations confirm also the particulars respecting the two royal palaces in Babylon; for, besides the remains of the eastern, Porter seems to have discovered vestiges of the western also.

Seventhly. The eastern quarter of the city was the later, but, probably, the most magnificent. It was the city of the Chaldæans, where Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadnezzar reigned, and erected their royal dwellings. It was from the battlements of the palace (al Kasr,) that Nebuchadnezzar was gazing upon that royal Babel, which he had built as a witness of his power, when he was struck with the punishment of his haughty pride! Through those gates Cyrus and Alexander once triumphantly entered into Babylon! In those halls they dwelt; and here the Macedonian hero breathed his last! *Heeren's Researches on Asiatic Nations.* Vol. ii. p. 178, et seqq.

61. *Theodotion* writes Δειρά, having, probably, read דירא instead of דורא. Or, perhaps, he thought of the plain of Deira in Susiana, mentioned by Ptolemy, (vi. 3.) Πεδίον Δειρά μεταξὺ τῆς Χαλβαπήτιδος καὶ τῆς Κισσίας. The Alexandrian translator has rendered דורא by περιβόλον. He took the word for

an appellative, in the sense of the Arabic, ^{دور} *a circle* or *round enclosure*. St Jerome says in his Com-

ment, in loc.: pro Dura LXX. *περίβολον* transtulerunt, quod nos *vivarium* vel *conclusum locum* dicere possumus. דורא seems also to have been regarded as an appellative by the author of the Greek version in St. Mark's Library at Venice, edited by Villoison; for he has ἐν πεδίῳ πρήσεως, *in the plain of burning*. Perhaps he connected it with the Hebrew דור, which is used in Ezek. xxiv. 5, of a round pile heaped up for burning. [Comp. Taylor's Fragments to Calmet, No. 150, 595.]

62. In the Talmudic Tract Sanhedrin, (Fol. 92, col. 2), it is said, that the Plain of Dura extended from the river Eshel to the city Rabbath, מנהר אשל עד רבת בקעת דורא; but these localities are now quite unknown. *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions (xxv. 6. 9,) a city of Dura on the Tigris, and (xxiii. 5. 8; xxiv. 1. 5,) another city of the same name in Mesopotamia; but neither of these is to be thought of here.

63. ארך. The name signifies *length*.

64. *Jerome* says in the Quaestt. Hebr. on Gen. i. 10: "Regnavit autem (Nimrod) et in Arach, hoc est, in Edissa."

65. It was called after the Macedonian city of the same name, the seat of the ancient kings of Macedonia. See *Cellarius*, Not. Orb. Ant. Tom. I. p. 833.

66. Καλλιόβη, *the fine-flowing*—so called on account of a famous fountain in the neighbourhood. From this Greek name, the modern Syriac כּוּרְהַ [Urhoi, and the Arabic الرها *Erroha* appear to have

been formed. The city is now called اَرْفَا *Orfa*; probably from the simple transmutation of the h in these names into f, just as the Æolians used the Latin f for h. See *Michaelis* Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr. Ester. P. I. p. 221, and *Niebuhr's* Trav. P. II. p. 407. (Ger.)

67. Too much importance is attached by *Assemani* (Dissert. de Monophysitis, prefixed to Vol. II. of his Biblioth. Orient, under *Edessa*,)—and after him by *J. D. Michaelis*, (Spicil. Geogr. Hebr. P. I. p. 222.) to the words of Ephrem, [Syrus,] who in his Comment. on Gen. x. 10, says “Erech is Urhoi ܐܪܚܝ ܐܘܪܝܐ, *i. e. Edessa*.” He is to be understood as merely repeating the ancient traditions which Jerome also follows, (see note 64,) but which are no certain evidence to rest upon.

68. Geog. Sacra. P. I. Lib. iv. Cap. 16, p. 267.

69. In the Essay “On the Original Kingdom of Nimrod,” in his Researches in Ancient History, p. 130, et seqq. “The cities mentioned having been the first beginning of the first kingdom, cannot have been far distant from each other; and if they were in each other’s vicinity, we cannot suppose them to have been very extensive. There is no evidence of Mesopotamia having ever borne the names of both Aram, (v. 22,) and Shinar. As Amraphel the king of Shinar, mentioned in Gen. xiv., was routed along with three other kings, by a body of 318 retainers of Abraham, it is manifest that the title “king” there designates nothing more than the leader of a nomadic horde. And it is impossible that Shinar could

then have been a kingdom in which there were cities lying from 300 to 400 miles distant from each other."

70. The "Ἀρχαῖα of *Ptolemy*, vi. 3. *Ammianus Marcellinus* says, (xxiii. 6. 26): His tractibus (Chaldaeorum) Susiani, apud quos non multa sunt oppida; inter alia tamen eminet Susa, saepe domicilium regium et Arsiana, et Sele, et *Aracha*. *Schulthess*, in his work on "Paradise," (p. 112), adheres to Bochart's opinion.

71. I. 185, and VI. 119. *Bochart* says, (loc. cit. p. 268:) Ardericae nomen Persas conflasse putamus ex ארד *ard* et ארך *Erec*. *Ard* Persice *magnum* sonat, ut probavimus in Capite de *Sabtha*.

72. ארכויא.

73. *Ptolemy* loc. cit. Comp. *Mannert's* Geography of the Greeks and Romans. Part V. Div. ii. p. 418.

74. אכר. *Simonis* conjectures, (*Onomast. Vet. Test.* p. 276,) that this name is derived from אכרת (like לת from לדת, אחת from אחדת,) and signifies a chain or fetter, after the analogy of the Arabic ^{—ف}أكل to bind fast; so that it would denote a city or fortress erected for the purpose of restraining and keeping in check a conquered people. A city founded by Assur, (*Gen.* x. 12,) had a name of similar import, רסן, *Resen*. But to bind may rather have the sense of to strengthen. Thus the Persians call the walls of a town شهر بند *Shahri-bend*, i. e. the bond of (or what binds) a city.

75. Ἀρχάδ.

76. Thus דרמשק for דמשק. Comp. *Gesenius* *Lehrgeb.* p. 131 et seqq.

77. De Animal. xvi. 42. Κτησίας γε μὲν ὁ Κνίδιος λέγει, περὶ τῇν Περσικὴν Σιττάκην ποταμὸν εἶναι, Ἀργάδην ὄνομα.

78. Loc. cit. p. 269. χ et γ literæ sunt tam sono vicinæ, quam forma, unde est quod facile permutantur. Hinc pro *Chobare Gobares* in Plinio, et ex χαλβάνη fit *galbanum*, ex ἄγχο ungo, unguis ἀπὸ τῷ ὄνυχος. Quin et Chaldæis כ et ג literæ sunt promiscuæ, ut videre est in כִּי et גִּי *littus*, כּוּמַצַּא et גּוּמַצַּא *fossa*, כּנַפּא et גּנַפּא *ala*. Sic videntur idem esse *Archad* et *Argad*, unde nomen *Argadi* fluvio. Ita ut ab *Archad* vel *Argad* oppido dictus fuerit *Argades* fluvius, quomodo apud Ptolemæum a *Chabora* et *Singa* oppidis, nomen habent *Chaboras* et *Singas*, fluvii qui in Euphratem exeunt.

79. אכר. So the Syriac translator has ܐܚܪ. Comp. note 81.

80. According to *Ephrem* [Syrus] in his Comm. in loc. Comp *Assemani* *Bibl. Orient.* under “Nisibis.” נציבין signifies military frontier posts, *præsidia*.

81. De Situ et Nominibus locor. Hebraicor. in Genesi: *Achad*, urbs regni Nimrod in Babylone. Porro Hebræi hanc esse dicunt Mesopotamiæ civitatem, quæ hodie vocatur Nisibi, a Lucullo quondam Romano Consule obsessam captamque, et ante paucos annos a Joviano Imperatore Persis traditam. נציבין also stands for אכר in the Jerusalem Targum and in the Targum of Jonathan, and hence it is probable these translators had read אכר.

82. *Schulthess* conjectures (Das Paradies, p. 113), that Achar became the Agra, marked by Ptolemy as lying on the Tigris in long. $80\frac{1}{2}$, lat. $33^{\circ} 45'$.

83. בלנה. *Simonis* (in his Onomast. p. 469) thinks this name composed of בלא, *an inclosure, a fortress*, and נוה, *a dwelling*; so that the whole would denote *a strong habitation, a fortified place*.

84. בלנו. As to the different modes of writing the name of this town, see *J. D. Michaelis*, Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr. Exteræ, Part I. p. 228.

85. כנה.

86. In the Jerusalem Targum at Gen. x. 10, there is, instead of בלנה, the name קטיספון. *Jerome* says, in his Quæstt. in Genes. at this place: *Chalanne*, quæ postea verso nomine a Seleuco rege est dicta Seleucia, vel certe, quæ nunc Κτησιφών appellatur. Here he hesitates between the two cities which lay opposite each other on the Tigris. But he expressly says in his Comment. at Amos vi. 2: *Transite omnes in Chalanne*, quæ nunc appellatur Ctesiphon. This city was on the left bank of the Tigris. See *Assemani's* Biblioth. Orient. Tom. III. P. II. p. 622, et seqq. Ctesiphon was the winter residence of the Parthian kings. Comp. *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 405. That the tower of Babel was near Chalneh, is an opinion to be found in some of the Greek fathers, and also in *Jerome*. It arose from the false translation given in the Septuagint, of Isa. x. 9, [see the present volume, p. 31] respecting the cause of which, consult *Bochart*, Geog. Sac. P. I. Lib. I. cap. ix.

87. *Pliny* says (Hist. Nat. VI. 26.): Ad hanc (Babylonem) exhaustiendam Ctesiphontem juxta ter-

tiam ab ea lapidem in Chalonitide condidere Parthi, quod nunc caput est regnorum. And cap. 27 : Jungitur Chalonitis. Ad eam venit Zagros mons ex Armenia inter Medos Adiabenosque veniens, supra Paraetacenem et Persidem. *Mannert*, however (p. 463), followed by *Vater* (Comment. on the Pentateuch, P. I. p. 125), thinks that Pliny is in error, and has assigned to the district of Chalonitis too great an extent towards the south ; for *Isidor of Charax* (who wrote his *Σταθμὸς Παρθικὸς* in the first half of the first century) mentions that the province in question comprised the north-eastern continuation of Apolloniatis, as far as the mountain and pass of Zagros, which separated it from Media ; and he fixes its entire length at twenty-one Schoeni, *i. e.* fifteen geographical miles. Yet it is well known how fluctuating and uncertain the boundaries of countries were among the ancients ; and it is quite possible that, at an earlier period, Chalonitis had a much greater extent. *Polybius* (V. 44) calls this province *Καλωνίτις*.

88. XXIII. 6. 23. Ctesiphon, quam Vardanes priscis temporibus instituit, posteaque rex Pacorus incolarum viribus amplificatam et mœnibus, Græco indito nomine, Persidis effecit specimen summum ; post hæc Seleucia, ambitiosum opus Nicatoris Seleuci. But *Valesius* remarks on this passage, that the name Ctesiphon is more ancient than the age of Pacorus, and had been mentioned by *Polybius*, V. 44. [See the last note.]

89. *Schulthess* (*Das Paradies*, p. 113), takes the Chalneh of Gen. x. 10, for Chala, which, according

to Isidor, was the capital of the Chalonitis, and is by Diodorus Siculus (XVII. 110,) called Kelōnæ (Κέλωναί.) *Mannert* (p. 463) thinks it may be the modern Holvān or Halvān (حلوان), the last town on the northern border of Irak Arabi. And *Schulthess* farther supposes the Chalne or Chelno of Isa. x. 9, and Amos vi. 2, to have been another city, namely *Chalcis*, the capital of the Syrian province of Chalcidice (Chalkidike), near the Orontes, where Kinnesrin now stands.

90. المداین. *Abulfeda* says, in his Description of Irak (*Büsching's Magazin*, Vol. v. p. 259,) that this city lay to the south-east, below Bagdad, at the distance of a day's journey, and was formerly called *Thaisafun*, in place of which the Dresden MS. reads طيبةسوان. That this name was formed from Ctesiphon, can admit of no doubt. *Abulfeda* mentions two other names of this town, viz.

رومية المداین *Rumiyat-el-Madain*, i. e. Rome of the cities, and اشبان *Ishbān*; ^a and adds, that on the west bank of the Tigris stood a city called ساباط المداین *Sabat-el-Madain*. *Ker Porter* (Vol. ii. p. 408, et seqq.) incorrectly spells the name of this city Al-Maidan. That would be writ-

^a In *Wustenfeld's* Edit. of *Abulfeda's* Irāk-Arabi, I find this written *Eschbelun*; and it is said that beside Sābāt-el-Mādāin was a city called *Nahr-Shir*.—M.

ten ^{٤ - ٥ - ٦} المیدار, the race-course, *il Corso*. The proper orthography is El-Madāin.

91. ایوان کسرو, طاق کسري. *Ibn-el-Wardi* says in his Description of Irak (I quote from the hitherto unpublished Dresden MS.), المداین هي مدينة عظيمة قديمة جاهلية وبها اثارها بلد وبها ایوان کسري المضروب به المثل في العظم والمساحة والارتفاع ولا تقار واقلیمها يعرف بارض بابل “El Madain is a large, ancient city, built in the times of heathenism, in which are still the ruins of the ancient city, and the palace of the emperor. The latter is used as a proverb to describe any thing great, spacious, lofty and strong. The district in which this city lies, is called the land of Babel.” *Abulfeda* likewise (*ibid.*) mentions the Ivan Kesra, [*i. e.* the palace of Chosroes], and says, that according to a credible account, the width, from one corner to another, is ninety-five ells.^a *Niebuhr* remarks (*Travels*, Part II. p. 305): “El-Madeyen, a once splendid city, which was the residence of the Persian kings till some years after the death of Mahomet, lay about four leagues to the south-east of Bagdad, upon the Tigris. The only remains of it are part of a large palace, called *Tacht Kisra*, *i. e.* the palace (or throne تخت) of Kosru. This

^a The height he states at eighty ells.—M.

building is constructed of burnt bricks and lime ; there is no inscription on it. As I had not an opportunity of visiting it in person, I shall only report what I heard from a European merchant—namely, that one who had measured the entrance to this palace in his presence, found it ninety-eight feet wide, and one hundred and ten feet high. The dimensions of the building itself, therefore, must have been very great.” The ruin is more minutely described by Ives, by whom it was examined in the year 1758. “Neither Turks nor Arabs,” says he, (*Travels*, Part II.) “are able to afford any correct information concerning this ruin ; they cannot even determine whether it has belonged to a palace or a temple. The bishop (Emanuel of Babylon) told us, that according to the common opinion it had formerly been a temple dedicated to the sun. In confirmation of this, they point out various openings in the arch, which they suppose may have been occupied by lamps ; but it appeared to us, that they were rather designed for the admission of fresh air. The east side of the building is 300 feet long ; the breadth of the arch is 85 feet, and the height 106. The length of the interior covered space of the arch, from east to west, is 150 feet ; the niches in the sides of the building somewhat resemble those of our ancient abbeys. The back and the west side are completely fallen in. At a considerable distance from the arch, and in all directions, we found the ruins of very extensive buildings, but so much dilapidated, that no appearance of a wall is now to be discovered. Yet bricks and mortar lie scattered in such quantities around, that it can-

92. כוּתָּה and כוּת (v. 30).

93^a. In his description of Babylonian Irak, where he calls the name of the city *کوتی*. *Michaelis* gives the passage in his *Suppl. ad Lex. Heb.* p. 1256, taken from his abstract of the Paris MS.

93^b. In *Hyde's Hist. Relig. Vet. Persarum*, p. 39, 70, 71, where the name of the city is written *کوٹا* and *کوٹي*. According to the Persian annalist *Tabari*, there cited, *کوٹي* was likewise the name of a king of Babel or Irak, who lived in the time of Abraham, and constructed the *King's Canal*, which united the waters of the Euphrates and Tigris.

93^c. *Elias Levita* says, in his Dictionary called *רבותינו זל קראו* (p. 157 of the Edit. of Fagius), לשומרונים כותיים שבאים מכותה וגו' *i. e.* our Rabbins of blessed memory call the Samaritans Cuthæans, as they came out of Cuthæa, etc. *Comp. Josephus*, Ant. IX. 14. 3.

94. ארץ-כנען. On the extensive commerce of the Babylonians, in its various branches, see *Heeren's Ideen*, B. I. Div. 2, p. 185, et seqq. [The more important particulars I have embodied in the text.]

95. אדורת שנער.

96. I. 195.

97. See *Ideler* on the Astronomy of the Chaldæans, in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy of Sciences for 1814 and 1815, (Berlin, 1818), p.

the church of the Monastery of Mar Elias, near Mosul, to the *Tauk Kesra*. Residence in Koordistan, Vol. II. p. 116, 404.—M.

200, et seqq. In this Dissertation, it is shown, that in reference to the most ancient eclipses of the moon, which Ptolemy gives from the observations of the Chaldæans, modern observations for the most part differ from the ancient only in respect of minutes. We have before remarked, that the tower of Belus, which lay towards the four cardinal points, was very probably used as an astronomical observatory.

98. חכמים, חכמי, Isa. xlv. 25; Jerem. l. 35; Dan. ii. 12. 18. 24. 27; iv. 3. 15; v. 7. 8.

99. כשדי, כשדאי, Dan. ii. 4. 5. 8. *Χαλδαίοι* is the name given to the priests of Belus at Babylon by Herodotus, I. 183. Comp. *Ritter's* Erdkunde, Part II. p. 797. *Herder* (in his Philosophy of the History of Mankind, Vol. III. p. 72), thinks the Magi formed in Babylonia, from the first, a separate order of the state, and, on the conquest of the country by the Chaldæans, flattered the conquerors by assuming their name. They became court philosophers, and degraded themselves by every species of imposture and sycophancy. *Munter* likewise (*Antiquarian Dissertations*, p. 144) is of opinion, that the priests of the conquered nation, the Babylonian, obtained, by their superior knowledge and culture, a complete influence over the conquerors; and having gradually succeeded in amalgamating the two races, nothing remained of the original difference, but that the priests, the reigning *caste*, appropriated to themselves the name of the conquerors—"Casdim," or Chaldæans. *Cicero* says (*De Divinat.* I. 1.): *Qua in (Assyriorum) natione Chaldaei non ex artis, sed ex gentis vocabulo nominati, diuturna observatione*

siderum, scientiam putantur effecisse, ut prædici posset, quid cuique eventurum, et quo quisque fato natus esset.

100. רב-מג. The second of these words is no doubt the same as مغ, which occurs in modern Persian writings, and denotes a *Magian*, a priest of the fire-worshippers. According to a Persian author quoted by *Hyde* (de Vet. Pers. Relig. cap. 30, p. 369 of the second edit.), موبد Mubad is an abbreviation of مغ بد Mogh-bad, and signifies a president of the Magi, and is thus of equivalent meaning with רב-מג. *Kleuker* thinks (Zend-Avesta, Part III. p. 225, note 9), that Magus is the same with *Meh*,^a pronounced *Megh*; it signifies *great, excellent*, and was, like Mehestan, a general name for the disciples of Zoroaster. But as Nebuchadnezzar, who had a chief of the Magi along with him, was no follower of the religion of Zoroaster, the word must pertain to a more ancient worship, in all probability the ancient Median. For Herodotus mentions (I. 101.) among the tribes or castes of Media, the Μάγοι (Magi); and that they had to do with the interpretation of dreams, appears from the circumstance of Herodotus having mentioned, in the same book (cap. 107, 120), that Astyages had employed some of them in that very business. Other conjectures on this name may be found in *Reland's* Dissert. de Vet. Ling. Persar. in the second part of his Dissertt.

^a So in Sanscrit, *Maha*, great.—M.

Miscell. p. 188. The *Μάγοι* mentioned in Matt. ii. 1, were eastern astronomers; but the Magian, Elymas, who is mentioned in Acts xiii. 8, was a man given to soothsaying and other secret arts. See *Lackemacher* de Judaeorum Magis horumque arte, speciatim de Elyma Mago, in his *Observatt. Philologg.* P. II. p. 126, et seqq. Besides the רב-מג, we also find notice taken of a רב-סגנן על חכמי בבל, chief president of the Babylonian wise men or Magians. Dan. ii. 48.

101. Conjectures on this point will be met with in *Gesenius'* Comment. on Isaiah, Append. II., on the Religion and Astrology of the Chaldæans, p. 349, 355. Comp. *Bleek* on the Author and Design of the Book of Daniel, in the *Theological Journal*, edited by Schleiermacher, De Wette, and Lücke, Heft III. p. 226.

102. הברי שמים החזים בכוכבים. The philological explanations of these terms will be found in my *Scholia* in loc., with which the reader may compare *Gesenius* in loc. cit. p. 354.

103. מכשפים conjurers or exorcists, חרטמים magicians, גזרין soothsayers, casters of nativities, חרטמים those who had the knowledge of secret writings, כשרים Chaldæans. See on these designations *Gesenius*, loc. cit., p. 365, and *Bertholdt's* Third Excur-sus to his Translation and Exposition of the Book of Daniel: "On the Institute of the Magi in Babylon," p. 835, et seqq.

104. The latter seems the more probable opinion to *Bleek*, loc. cit., p. 225.

105. See *Adelung's* *Mithridates*, Part I. p. 327.

106. See *Matt. Norberg's* Selecta Opuscula Acad. Tom. III. p. 168. *Lorsbach's* Archives for Biblical and Eastern Literat. Vol. II. p. 236, et seqq. *Note*; and *Gesenius'* Hist. of the Hebrew Lang. and Literature, p. 63.

107. See *Gesenius*, loc. cit., p. 142.

108. See *Munter* on several inscriptions recently found in the Ruins of Babylon, in his Antiquarian Dissert. (Copenhagen, 1816), p. 118, et seqq., especially p. 142. The same learned writer has treated of the cuneiform characters generally, in his Essay on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Persepolis, Copenhag. 1802. Comp. also *Grotefend's* Dissert. in Heeren's Researches, Part I., Div. 1, p. 563. The most complete account of works that have appeared on this subject, is in *Hartmann's* Tychsen, Part II., Div. 3, p. 48.^a

109. See *Koppe's* Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit. Vol. II. p. 151, 154.

110. Cush, as we saw, denotes the lands of the South. See Vol. I. p. 80.

111. Quum scriptores ethnicos constet gesta Nimrodi patris referre ad Ninum filium, et illius uxorem Semiramidem; non temere praetereundum est quod in Diodoro (L. II. Cap. 1.) habetur, Ninum Arabum exercitum sibi comparasse, et ope regis Arabiae Babylonios subegisse. Nempe Nimrod erat Chusaeus, id est Arabs, et concivium suorum ope ad

^a Comp. the "Mémoire relatif aux Antiques Inscriptions," read by the late Saint Martin to the Académie des Inscriptions, and published in the Journal Asiatique for February 1823.—M.

imperium evector est. *Bochart*, Geogr. S. P. I. L. IV. Cap. 12, p. 257. In like manner, a horde, (the Lachmites), who migrated from Arabia at the close of a long war, founded the kingdom of Hira on the banks of the Euphrates, in the third century of our era. See their history by *Eichhorn*, in the *Fundgruben des Orients*. Vol. III. p. 360. The period at which Nimrod came into the land of Shinar is not specified. For though the account of him occurs previous to the narrative of the erection of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues, we are not thence to conclude, that the foundation of Nimrod's kingdom on the Euphrates was prior to these events. The notice concerning him is only incidentally introduced into the genealogical table in the tenth chapter; yet nothing is, from that circumstance, to be inferred respecting the chronological order of the history. See Th. J. *Ditmar's* Accounts of the Condition of Canaan, Arabia and Mesopotamia, in the most ancient times, p. 82, et seqq.

112. The Hebrew expression לפני יהוה is ambiguous. It may signify: *against Jehovah* (comp. Num. xvi. 2; 1 Chron. xiv. 8); or, *with the help of Jehovah* (Num. xxxii. 21, 22, 27). In the above passage about Nimrod (Gen. x. 9), the expression is to be regarded as emphatic or intensive, q. d. "even in the eyes of God;" just as in Jon. iii. 3. Nineveh is called עיר גדולה לאלהים *a great city before God*; and in Acts vii. 20, Moses is called ἀστεινός τῷ θεῷ *a great man to God*.

113. "Before war began to rage among men, the proper work of heroes was the hunting of wild beasts.

This was prosecuted by extensive bands of hunters, who would be led on by the bravest, that is, by the individual who, by his talent and daring, acquired a natural superiority over the rest. The exploits performed took their name from him, and that circumstance would attract many to join his company.” *Schiller* on the First Human Society, in his Minor Prose Writings (Leips. 1792, p. 379, et seqq.)—where he beautifully illustrates the manner in which a hunter would become the first king. Thus, too, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, loc. cit. Ninus rose from being a hunter to be king. See *Bochart*, loc. cit., p. 258. *Herder* thinks (Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry, Part I. p. 258) that a mighty hunter means a powerful despot, an oppressor of men through skill and power; and he connects the story of Nimrod with the account of the Tower of Babel, thinking the whole designed as a reproach upon Babylon. But this is a view which I can by no means embrace.

114. This seems confirmed by the Hebrew word itself נמרד from מרד to *fall away, to withdraw allegiance from a ruler, to rebel*. “Certum est נמרד fuisse vituperii nomen, rebellem contra Deum et contumacem notans, quod itaque ab inimicis, non autem a suis, impositum quisque credat,” says *Hyde*, Hist. Religion. Vet. Pers. Cap. II. p. 36. The form of the Hebrew name is peculiar. *Perizonius* (Origines Babylon. Cap. VIII. p. 122) takes it for the first person plural of the future, and thinks, “hominem hunc, utpote venatorem ferocem et sodalium comitatu succinctum, semper in ore habuisse et ingeminasse, ad reliquos in rebellionem excitandos, illud נמרד נמרד

rebellemus ! rebellemus !" According to the opinion of *Simonis* (Onomastic. Vet. Test., p. 472), נמרד is composed of נין posterity and מרד, so that נין מרד denoted *filius rebellionis* ; and נין has been preserved in the name Ninus. גבור likewise is sometimes used in a bad sense, to express a mighty oppressor, e. g.

Ps. lii. 5 ; cxx. 4 ; so the Arabic جبار^{جبار}. The Arabic

words جبار في الارض^{جبار في الارض} which literally correspond

to the Hebrew expression גבר בארץ used of Nimrod in Gen. x. 8, signify in the Koran, Sur. xxviii. 18, a powerful despot, an oppressor.

115. In the same light is Nimrod represented by *Josephus*, Antiq. I. 4, 2, as having prevailed upon men not to expect what was necessary for their welfare from God, but to procure it by the strength of their own arm ; as having, upon the supposition that God would destroy mankind by a new flood, begun to build a high tower in order to assail him in the clouds, etc. The other eastern traditions respecting Nimrod are given at length by *D'Herbelot* in his *Biblioth. Orient.* under the article Nimrod ; a supplement to which, from Persian writers, has been furnished by *Ouseley* in the *Oriental Collections*, Vol. II. p. 375. Connected with this tradition, is the circumstance that the constellation, which the Greeks called Orion, was by the Jews termed גבור *the giant*, and כסיל *the fool*, i. e. the impious man, by which they understood Nimrod. See *Hyde's Comment.* on *Ulugh Begh's Table of Constellations*, p. 44 of the first edit. ; p. 57 of the *Syntagma Dissertt.* Vol. I.

Oxon., 1767. Comp. *J. D. Michaelis*, Suppl. ad Lexica, p. 1320. According to Hygin (Poet. Astron. Tom. II. cap. 26) Orion was likewise a hunter, who manifested hostility towards Diana and Latona; and having indulged the presumptuous boast that he would destroy all that the earth produced, the earth killed him by a scorpion, and he was then placed by Jupiter among the stars, “ut species ejus hominibus documento esset, ne quis eorum de aliqua re sibi confideret.”

116. בְּעֵל, Heb. בְּעַל. Comp. *Perizonius* Origg.

Babyl., p. 94. According to an account, preserved by Eusebius (Præp. Evang. Lib. IX. cap. 18, p. 420), from the ancient work of an unknown writer, there were, in the time of Abraham, giants in Babylonia, who, on account of their wickedness, were destroyed by the gods, with the exception only of Belus, and he afterwards became the ruler of the country, fixing his seat at the tower which was built by him, and which continued to be called by his name.

117. In *Georg. Syncelli* Chronographia, p. 206 of the edit. of Goar. Comp. *Volney* Recherches, P. III. p. 112, et seqq.

118. “There is still extant indeed, a list of the names of thirteen kings of two dynasties, previous to the age of Nabonassar, the first of which consists of *seven* Chaldæans, who are said to have reigned for 224 years, and the second of *six* Arabians, whose dynasty extended to 216 years—both together occupying 440 years. But they are all obscure, unknown names, and the period of time to which they

belong is quite uncertain." *Gatterer's History of the World*, Götting. 1785, p. 151.

119. "Nabonassar seems to have been neither the founder of a new kingdom, nor the first of a new royal family; yet though he was not so celebrated for his exploits as his immediate successor, an Egyptian mathematician of the second century (Ptolemy), fixed on his reign for the commencement of an era, which was, in the first instance, designed for the use of astronomers, but which has also been found very serviceable in the chronology of history. Yet the kings, mentioned in the canon of Ptolemy, are believed, on good grounds, to have been merely princes of the royal house of Assyria, endowed with their own *apanage* or territorial inheritance." *Gatterer*, loc. cit. Comp. *Volney*, loc. cit., p. 121, and *L. J. K. Justis' Miscell. Dissertt. on Important Subjects of Theology*, Vol. I. p. 286. *Paulus*, indeed, endeavours to make it appear (*Key to Isaiah*, p. 270) that Babylon had independent kings from the time of Baladan till it came under the dominion of Esarhaddon. But the more common opinion has been confirmed by the accounts of Berosus, which have lately come to light, as preserved in the Armenian translation of the *Chronicle of Eusebius*. See note 121.

120. This name is plausibly explained by *Von Bohlen* (*Symbolæ ad Interpret. Sac. Cod. e Ling. Pers.* p. 26,) by *مردک انباده* *Mardak-ambadeh*, vir gloriosus, and *مردک بلادان* by *مرداک بلادان* *Mardak-baladan* vir laudatus. *مردک* is also the name of a Babylonian idol, in *Jer. l. 2*, probably the planet

Mars. See *Gesenius'* Comment. on Isaiah, vol. II. p. 345. Comp. vol. I. p. 997. On the practice of the ancients to call themselves after their national gods, see the same work, p. 281, note; and *Simonis Onomast.* V. T. p. 484, et seqq.

121. In the Armenian Translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius, which was recently published for the first time (Venice 1818,) by *Joh. Bapt. Aucher*, along with a Latin version. Tom. I. p. 42, 43. The first who used it for the illustration of Isa. xxxix. 1, was *Gesenius* in his Comment. on Isaiah, vol. I. p. 999. The identity of Mardoc Empad, and Merodach Baladan, is likewise recognized by *Ditmar*, (*Hist. of the Israelites to the time of Cyrus*, p. 374,) who farther remarks: "The governors of provinces in the east possessed, like the pachas in the modern empire of Turkey, the full rights of sovereignty in their respective satrapies; so that they not only held, from the monarch, uncontrolled dominion over all the inhabitants within the bounds of their jurisdiction, but might carry on war and form alliances with neighbouring princes. See *Herodotus* III. 118, vi. 29. *Nepos*. Datames, VI. 10. But the treaty of Mardoc or Merodach Empad with Hezekiah, so far from having been concluded under the sanction of the king of Assyria, was designed to excite the Jewish monarch to a war against him. The Bible calls Merodach also by the name of Baladan, the son of Baladan. But I do not understand this as if the predecessor of Merodach had also been called Baladan, and was Merodach's father; for it was not the custom to permit the vice-regal power, such as I

conceive this to have been, to descend from father to son. But I take the name Baladan for a family-name, or the same as Belesys, the name of that Babylonian who threw off the Assyrian yoke along with Arbaces, and, as Ctesias relates, stirred up against Assyria an Arabian king, who can have been no other than Hezekiah. In the names Belesys and Baladan the letters צ, ז, ס and ד, and also the Greek characters σ and δ, may have been easily interchanged, either in the Hebrew or in Diodorus. It is true that the reign of Merodach ended in the year B.C. 712, and the revolt of the Medes did not happen till two years after, viz. B. C. 710; but, be that as it may, it is evident, from the treaty he entered into with Hezekiah, that Merodach must be regarded as the first who endeavoured to make himself independent of Assyria in the government of Babylonia."

122. It might at first sight appear from Isa. xxxvii. 37, 38, as if Sennacherib was murdered *immediately* on his return from Palestine, whereas, according to Berosus, he survived Merodach Baladan for a considerable time. But, as *Gesenius* observes, (loc. cit. p. 1002,) he is expressly said by Isaiah to have *dwelt at Nineveh*, after his return; and the period that elapsed before his death is not specified.

123. כשדים. The signification of the name is unknown. For the conjecture of *J. C. Friedrich* is without foundation, that it was derived from כסד *to wander*, the Chaldæans having been a nomadic horde, who scattered themselves throughout the adjoining regions. See his Dissert. on the Progenitor, Country, and early History of the Chaldæans, in *Eichhorn's*

Allgem. Biblioth. der Biblischen Literatur. Part X. p. 425. See the author's Annot. on Habak. I. 6, in his Scholia in V. T. Part VII. vol. III. p. 366.

124. According to *Xenophon* (Cyrop. III. 2, 7.) the Chaldæans lived in the mountains bordering on Armenia, and in that region they appear in the expedition of the Younger Cyrus, and the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks. Anab. IV. 3, 4.; V. 5, 9; VII. 8, 14. Comp. *Norberg*. de Chaldaeis septentrionalis originis, in his Selectis Opusculis Academicis, P. III. p. 150, et seqq. Whether the *Chalybes* mentioned by Xenophon, (Anab. VII. 8, 14,) as dwelling near the Chaldæans, towards the Black Sea, were a tribe of Chaldæan origin is uncertain. *Norberg* thinks it very probable, (loc. cit. p. 158.) Comp. Schlözer's Dissert. on the Chaldæans in *Eichhorn's* Repertor. vol. VIII. p. 113, et seqq.^a

125. In Judith v. 5, the Hebrews are called "descendants of the Chaldæans," ἀπόγονοι Χαλδαίων. In Gen. x. 22, 24, likewise, Arpachsad (אַרְפַּכְשָׁד) i. e. "the bounds (⁵⁻⁶أَرْض plur. ⁵⁻⁶أرض) of the Chaldæans," is introduced as the ancestor of Heber, from whom the Hebrews were descended.

126. גוי מעולם.

127. "Yet a considerable portion of the Chaldæans must have remained in the original seat of the

^a Strabo says the Chaldæans were anciently called *Chalybes*. The people mentioned by Xenophon in the passage referred to seem different from those he elsewhere introduces. They are described as few in number, and subject to the Mosynæci. Comp. *Eustathius* ad Dionys. v. 467.—M.

nation, retaining their ancient mode of life, seeing that even under the Persians, they appear to have enjoyed many of the liberties of an independent people, as we learn from the account of Xenophon, (see note 124.) Since the Kurds, who inhabited the same region in the middle ages, and continue to inhabit it, have always been on the same distinct and independent footing; and since tribes, when so secluded, are often found to retain their language and manners unchanged for thousands of years, the conjecture, that the Kurds are descendants of the primitive Chaldæans is not to be lightly rejected. See *Schulten's* Geograph. Index to his Edition of the Life of Saladin, under *Curdi*." *Gesenius'* Comment. on Isaiah, Part I. p. 747.

128. [Rosenmüller follows here the translation of *Justi*, Leipsic, 1821, with only one slight alteration. But, as it is full of obscurities, I have given a version, which is founded partly on that of Newcome.—M.]

129. See *Eusebius* Chronic. in *Scaliger's* Thesaur. Tempor. p. 124, and *Alexander Polyhistor*. in *Georg. Syncellus*, p. 218, 220, Edit. of Goar.

130. In the time of Herodotus, the Assyrians and Chaldæans appear in the Persian army as one people. Book VII. cap. 63. Ἀσσύριοι, τουτέων δὲ μεταξὺ Χαλδαῖοι.

131. Called in the Canon of Ptolemy, "Nabokolassar." See *Volney* Recherches, P. III. p. 132. *Lorsbach*, in the Archives for Eastern Literat. Vol. II. p. 247, explains the name נבוכדנאצר, or as it is sometimes written נבוכדראצר, from the Persian نبو خدان سر Nebu-chodan-sar, i. e. "Nebo,

Prince of Gods,"—in which case the middle word must be considered as an abbreviation of خدایان.

Nebu is the Chaldee name of the planet Mercury. See Gesenius' Comment. on Isaiah, Vol. II. p. 342. Other less plausible explanations may be found in *Simonis*, Onomast. p. 573. *Volney* says, (loc. cit. in the note): Nabo-kol-asar s'explique bien, *prophète tout victorieux, ou vainqueur de tout*. Dans Nabo-kadn-asar le mot *kada* doit être le Syriaque *gad*, signifiant *la fortune*. Aussi les Arabes ont-ils rendu ce mot par Baktnasar, vainqueur fortuné. But how untenable these positions are, must be obvious to every orientalist. *Hyde* (Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. cap. 2, p. 65 of the second edit.) regards the נ or ר in the middle of the name as epenthetic, and explains נְבוֹ-גַדְ-אֹר by "Mercury, Jupiter, Mars." But a proper name thus composed of the names of three gods, seems to be contrary to all analogy. In the Greek version of the Seventy, the word is written Ναβουχοδονόσορος; in a fragment of Berosus in *Josephus*, Apion I. 20, 21, Ναβουχοδονόσορος; in *Strabo*, XV. 1, 6, Ναβοκοδορόσορος. The Arabs call Nebu-

ܢܒܘܚܕܢܙܐܪ بختنصر Bohtonassar. See *Hottinger's* Histor. Orient. p. 325, and *Abulfaragi*, Hist. Dynast. p. 70, 78. *Firuzabadi*, in his Lexicon called Kamūs, i. e. the Ocean (Calcutta Edit. p. 668), gives the following peculiar exposition of this name, which is plain-

ly a corruption of Nebuchadnezzar: بُخْتَنَصْر نَصْر

بالتشديد اصله بوخت ومعناه ابن ونصر

كَبَقَمَ صَنَمَ وَكَانَ وَجَدَ عِنْدَ الصَّنَمِ وَلَمْ يَعْرِفْ
 وَابْنُ أَبِي فَرْسٍ قَالَ خَرَّبَ الْقُدْسَ

i. e. Bochta-Nassara, with double *sad*. The first word is properly *Bücht*, and signifies “son,” and *Nassar*, in the form *Bakkam*, is the name of an idol beside which he was found; and as his father was unknown, he was named after the idol. He destroyed Jerusalem.” *Richardson* says of this name, (Persian

Dictionary by Wilkins, p. 163,) نَحْتِ نَصْرَ

Bakhti-nassar. *Arab.* بَحْتِ النَّصْرِ Bakhta'n'-nassar, *i. e.* “the Fortune of Victory,” [yet the first name is Persian,] the prince who in the Bible is called Nebuchadnezzar. The Eastern historians consider him merely as one of the four governors, whom Lohorasb, king of Persia, (the son of Kai-Khosru or Cyrus,) appointed over his vast empire; the district assigned to him was Babylonia or Chaldæa. Some derive the name Nebuchadnezzar from three Assyrian idols, called Nobo, Hadan, and Assar; and others explain it from the Chaldee, in which it is supposed to denote, the servant of Nassar, a Babylonian idol.”

132. Volney, (*loc. cit.* p. 150,) has made it very probable that this account by Megasthenes, (found in *Strabo* xv. 1, 6; and in Josephus *contra Apion*, i. 20,) was founded on a misconception.

133. See Abydenus in *Eusebius Præp. Evang.* ix. 41.

134. Dan. iv. 32. Comp. *Bleek* in the Dissert. quoted at note 101, p. 268, et seqq.

135. אֵיל-מֶרֶדַךְ, called by Ptolemy, *Iluaridam*; by Syncellus, *Evidan-Merodach*. The second half of the name denotes the planet Mars, as deified by the Chaldæans. See note 120. אֵיל signifies in Hebrew, *foolish, impious*. According to a tradition preserved by Jarchi and St. Jerome, (see the author's Scholia on Isa. xiv. 19,) this prince held the reins of government for the seven years during which his father was deprived of reason; but he governed so ill, that the latter, on recovering his reason, threw him into prison. *Berosus* likewise, in *Eusebius* Præpar. Evang. ix. 40, and *Josephus* contra Apion, i. 20, speak of Evil-Merodach as a wicked prince. Perhaps originally his name had been אֵל-מֶרֶדַךְ, Merodach is God; but, from the hateful associations attached to his name, the אֵל may have been subsequently changed into אֵיל.

136. See *Prideaux's* Connection, Part I. This author identifies Evil-Merodach with that king of Assyria whom Xenophon mentions in the Cyropædia as having made the invasion into the Median territory, and who thereby gave occasion to the war in which Cyrus so distinguished himself. But it is very remarkable that Xenophon does not record the name of any one of the three Babylonian, or, as he calls them, Assyrian monarchs, with whom his hero Cyrus waged war—an omission which seems intentional, and tends to confirm the suspicion, that his narrative is little better than a historical romance. See Vol. I. p. 250. We deem it safer to abide by the catalogue

of kings names given by Berosus, meagre though it be.

137. He is not mentioned in the list of Ptolemy, but only in that of Berosus and Megasthenes, as preserved by Eusebius, loc. cit.

138. In *Herodot.* I. 77, and 188. *Volney* remarks, (*Recherches* P. III. p. 158.): Ce mot *Labun-et* n'est pas autre que le *Nabu* et *Nabun* des Hébreux et des Chaldéens, dans lequel l' N est changé en L par un cas dont notre langue offre des exemples triviaux. Le peuple dit *ecolomie* au lieu d'*oeconomie*. Il est singulier de trouver cette altération dans le nom de *Laborosoachod*, fils et successeur de *Neriglissor*.

139. Berosus and Megasthenes, indeed, (in *Eusebius*, *Præpar. Evang.* IX. 40, 41), only call Nabonnid "a certain Babylonian, who was one of the conspirators against Laborosoachod, and no relation of his." "Berosus asks *Volney*, loc. cit. p. 162: a-t-il rougi du prince qui survécut à la perte de son trône et de son pays?" But *Herodotus* expressly says, that the last king of Babylon, *Labynet*, was a son of queen Nitocris, (I. 188.) Ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν. Now that this queen was the wife of Evil-Merodach, has been shewn on very convincing grounds by *Prideaux* in the work formerly quoted. But if Nabonnid or Labynet was a son of Nitocris and Evil-Merodach, he must have been a minor at the time when his predecessor was murdered.

140. *Herodot.* I. 185.

141. [According to Berosus and Megasthenes, Na-

bonnid, the last king of Babylon, when defeated by Cyrus, fled, with the remains of his army, to Borsippa. Being there besieged by the conqueror he submitted, and not only had his life spared, but received the province of Kerman or Caramania, where he ended his days in peace. *Xenophon*, however, (*Cyrop.* VII. 24,) says the last king of Babylon was killed at the taking of his capital by Cyrus; and this agrees with the account in *Dan.* v. 30: "in that night was Belshazzar, king of the Chaldæans, slain."^a]

142. See Vol. I. p. 241, et seqq. and comp. Note 42, above.

143. [As Rosenmüller adopts the sceptical conclusions of Bleek (see Note 101,) regarding the historical credibility of the Book of Daniel, I have sub-

^a Of the expression used on that occasion by Daniel to Belshazzar, "Thou art weighed in the balance," we find a curious illustration in Sir Thomas Roe's *Voyage to India*:—"The first of September (which was the late Mogul's birth-day,) he, retaining an ancient yearly custom, was, in the presence of his chief grandees, weighed in a balance; the ceremony was performed within his house, or tent, in a fair spacious room, whereinto none were admitted but by special leave. The scales in which he was thus weighed were plated with gold, and so the beam on which they hung by great chains, made likewise of that most precious metal. The king, sitting in one of them, was weighed, first against silver coin, which immediately after was distributed among the poor: then was he weighed against gold: after that against jewels (as they say); but, I observed, (being there present with my lord ambassador,) that he was weighed against three several things, laid in silken bags, on the contrary scale. When I saw him in the balance, I thought on Belshazzar, who was found too light, *Dan.* v. 27."—M.

stituted, for his meagre remarks on the Babylonian constitution and government, the account of the judicious Heeren; and for a full vindication of the authenticity of Daniel, I would refer the reader to the work of a living German writer, *Hengstenberg* of Berlin, on “the Authenticity of Daniel, and the Integrity of Zechariah.”—M.]

The government of provinces, in the great empires of the east, by means of viceroys or pachas, has obtained, from the earliest period to the present day. See Vol. I. p. 250, and *Von Hammer's* Constitution of the Ottoman Empire, Part I. p. 36. These viceroys often assumed the title of *king*, and hence the sovereign himself came to be called “the great king,” and “the king of kings.” See *Rosenmüller's* Scholia on Ezek. xxvi. 7, and *Gesenius' Comment.* on Isa. x. 8. The names of the different officers of state, &c. which occur in the books of Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther, have been learnedly treated of by Bertholdt in the second Excursus to his translation and exposition of the Book of Daniel.

CHAPTER IX.

ASSYRIA.

As we had to distinguish between Persia and the Persian empire, and between Babylonia and the Babylonian empire, so we must now make a distinction between *the land of Assyria* and *the Assyrian empire*. The former was called by the Hebrews Ashur,¹ or as pronounced by the most ancient Greek translators, Assur. It derived its name from Ashur, the second son of Shem (Gen. x. 22), or from a tribe designated after him, who settled in this region. By the Greeks and Romans it was called Assyria, a word which passed into several other languages. But as the Chaldæans and Syrians, according to their practice of changing the letter s into t, pronounced “Athur” instead of Ashur, we find the country sometimes called, by Greek and Roman writers, *Atyria* and *Aturia*.²

This country was bounded on the north by Armenia, the Gordiæan Mountains, and especially by Mount Niphates; on the west by the river Tigris and Mesopotamia; on the south by

Persia ; and on the east by Media, more particularly by Mounts Choatres and Zagros.³ It nearly corresponded to the modern Kourdistan, or land of the Kourds,⁴ with the pachalik of Mosul, which contains about 1600 (German) square miles, and was thus about the size of the united kingdom of Naples and Sicily. The northern part is very mountainous, but towards the south it is generally level, like the neighbouring country of Babylonia. The culture of the soil is promoted by the number of rivers which traverse the country, and by the pleasant alternation of hill and dale which diversify its surface ; while the navigable Tigris presents great facilities for commerce. In different parts of the southern division there are springs of naphtha. The country abounds in wheat, and in the most esteemed kinds of fruit, as also in wine, cotton, and manna. And it was, therefore, with truth that the Assyrian commander Rabshakeh called his native country (2 Kings xviii. 32. Isa. xxxvi. 17) “ a land where there is corn and wine, bread and vineyards, olive-oil and honey.”⁵ When we find Herodotus,⁶ Strabo,⁷ Arrian,⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus,⁹ and other ancient writers comprising under Assyria the provinces of Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and even Cappadocia as far as the Euxine Sea,¹⁰ we are to regard it as merely a statistical form of speech, in which Assyria is put for the Assyrian empire.

The principal river of Assyria is the Tigris, called by the Hebrews the Chiddekel, the course of which has been described in the former volume (p. 57.) It receives in its passage through Assyria two rapid streams, the Great and Little Zab¹¹ or Dhab (*i. e.* Wolf), called by the Greeks Lykus (the Wolf), and Kapros (the Wild Boar).¹² They run for a considerable distance parallel to each other, in a southerly direction, the former being to the west, the latter to the east. The Little Zab is called by the Turks *Altoon-Su*,^a *i. e.* Golden Water or Golden River.¹³ Ezra mentions (ch. viii. 21, 31) a river Ahava,¹⁴ where the Jewish exiles assembled on their way from Babylonia to Palestine. Some find this river in the Lykus or Great Zab,¹⁵ but the conjecture is without a shadow of probability. It would appear from the 15th verse, that Ahava was rather the name of a place or country; for it is said, "I assembled them at the river which flows towards Ahava." And it is much more likely that it lay in the south-west of Babylonia (which was in the direction of Palestine) than in the remote region of Assyria, which was to the north-east,—though indeed nothing certain can be determined concerning it.

^a "I believe," says Rich, "it is wrong to call the river *Altoon*, an epithet only belonging to the bridge from what it cost—*Altoon* meaning gold or money."—Rich's *Koordistan*, Vol. II. p. 13, note.—M.

According to Ptolemy,¹⁷ Assyria was divided into six provinces, the northernmost of which was Arrapachitis, apparently so called from the Arphachsad¹⁸ of the Hebrews¹⁹ (Gen. x. 22, 24); inasmuch as that name, like most of those in the genealogical table in the book of Genesis, designated not only a person (who was Shem's second son) but also a country called after him.²⁰ Arrapachitis met on the south Calachene, probably the province of Chalach,²¹ mentioned in 1 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11. Farther south lay Adiabene, the principal province of Assyria. Pliny²² and Ammianus,²³ comprise the whole of Assyria under this name, which, however, properly denoted only the province that was watered by the rivers Diab and Adiab, or the Great and Little Zab, (Dhab). To the north-east of Adiabene was Arbelitis, in which was the city Arbela, now Erbil, celebrated for the victory obtained in the neighbourhood by Alexander over Darius.²⁴ Southward lay the province of Apolloniatis,²⁵ along the Tigris, to near Ctesiphon. The most southerly province was Sittakene,²⁶ bordering upon Susiana.

The metropolis of Assyria, and the seat of empire, was *Nineveh*,²⁷ (2 Kings xix. 36; Is. xxxvii. 37; Jon. iii. 6; Nah. ii. 8.) The name signifies "the residence of Ninus."²⁸ If Ninus was the same person as Nimrod,²⁹ then the sacred and profane accounts of the founder of Ni-

neveh harmonise; for in Gen. x. 11, it is said that Nimrod went out from Babylonia to Assyria, *i. e.* he took that country,³⁰ and there built Nineveh, with other cities. In Greek and Roman writers, the city is commonly mentioned merely under the name of its founder Ninus;³¹ yet the name of Nineveh was not altogether unknown to later writers.³² It lay opposite the modern town of Mosul,³³ on the east bank of the Tigris,³⁴ where the villages of Nineveh or Nunia (also called Nebbi Yunes, *i. e.* the prophet Jonah), Nimrud³⁵ and Kalla Nunia (the Castle of Nineveh) preserve to the present day the remembrance of the most ancient capital of the world.³⁶ To judge from the slender accounts of this city which have come down to us, it must have been equal, if not superior, in extent to Babylon.³⁷ For, according to the statement in the Book of Jonah (ch. iii. 3,) it was three days' journey in circumference;³⁸ and according to Diodorus Siculus,³⁹ or rather his authority Ctesias, its circuit was 480 stadia, (about 11 or 12 geographical miles)—both accounts thus agreeing with tolerable exactness. In connection with this, it is said, (Jon. iv. 11,) that there were in it 120,000 persons who knew not their right hand from their left. As this is a proverbial expression, denoting children under the age of three or five years, we may, according to the usual rate of calculation, estimate the

entire population at two millions of souls. This number may appear too small in proportion to the vast extent of ground occupied, especially when compared with the population of our European cities ; but it is to be kept in view, that the ancient cities of the east, as Peking, Ispahan, Moscow, and others at the present day, comprehended in their circuit many gardens and large spaces of vacant ground. The walls of Nineveh were a hundred feet high, and so broad that three waggons might be driven on them abreast.⁴⁰ Upon the wall stood fifteen hundred towers, each two hundred feet in height ; and the whole was so strong as to be deemed impregnable. An ancient prediction had foretold, that the place should never be subdued, until the river became its enemy.^{40a} Relying upon this, Sardanapalus made it his stronghold in his war with Arbaces the Mede. For three years it stood out the siege, but at length the river broke in, demolishing part of the wall, twenty stadia in length ; whereupon Sardanapalus was thrown into such despair, that, abandoning his capital to the enemy, he set fire to the palace, and perished amid his treasures.

The situation of Nineveh was favourable for commerce. The Tigris, which communicated with the Euphrates by canals, and afterwards joined it before entering the Persian Gulf, opened up to Nineveh the whole of the south of

Asia and the Southern Ocean.^a Hence the prophet Nahum (ch. iii. 16) says, “that Nineveh had more merchants than there are stars in the sky.” And as Michaelis remarks (in loc.), the commercial intercourse between Eastern and Western Asia must have almost entirely been carried on by way of Nineveh, inasmuch as there were the bridges over the Tigris, a river which at few other points admitted of their convenient erection. But, as is the case in all large and wealthy cities, there reigned here the greatest corruption of morals, on account of which the Hebrew prophets Nahum (ch. iii. 1, et seqq.) and Zephaniah (ch. ii. 13—15) foretold its destruction, (comp. Tobit xiv. 13.) This was hastened through the effeminacy and licentiousness of the Assyrian monarchs, who were unable to withstand the attacks of the victorious Medes. Cyaxares, king of Media, and Nabopolassar, viceroy of Babylon, having formed an alliance, took and destroyed Nineveh in the year B. C. 597. There was subsequently built, either on the site of the ancient capital or in the neighbourhood, a town of the same name, which is mentioned by Tacitus,⁴¹ in the second half of the first century, and by Ammianus Marcellinus,⁴² in the fourth century.

^a It is the opinion of Major Rennell, that previously to the age of Alexander the Great, the Euphrates and Tigris flowed into the Persian Gulf by distinct and independent channels.—M.

Besides Nineveh, Nimrod founded, in Assyria, three other cities, Gen. x. 11, 12. The first of these is called *Rechoboth-Ir*,—words which may signify “streets of a city,”⁴⁴ or Rechoboth, a city,⁴⁵ *i. e.* the city Rechoboth. Neither in the ancient Greek and Roman authors, nor in the eastern writers of the middle age, are there the traces of any Assyrian town of that name; and nothing therefore respecting its site can be determined with certainty.⁴⁶

Of *Calach*,⁴⁷ the next of Nimrod’s cities, there seems to be some trace in *Calachene*, which we find in Strabo,⁴⁸ as a province of Assyria, between the source of the Lycus and the Tigris. It was bounded on the north by Arrapachitis and the Gordiæan or Carduchian Mountains, on the south by Adiabene. Ptolemy⁴⁹ calls it *Kalakine*. But, according to the opinion of some learned men, Calach is not different from Chalach,⁵⁰ whither Salmanassar, king of Assyria, transplanted a colony of Israelites,^a 2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11. The name Chalach is given among the Syrians to a town which is likewise called by them Chulon, and by the Arabs, Cholwan or Holwan.⁵¹ By the Arabian Geographers, it is described as the most north-easterly city of Arabian or Babylonian Irak, in the direction of Persia, at the foot of the mountain-ridge, which

^a See Vol. I. pp. 172, 188, 310.

at present separates the Turkish from the Persian territory. This place would have been one of the most southerly of ancient Assyria, whereas the Calachene of the ancients was one of the northernmost provinces of that empire. We therefore take Calach and Chalach to be two different places, the former of which gave name to the province of Calachene, but the latter is Holwan, which still retains its ancient name among the Syrians.⁵²

The last Assyrian city mentioned in Gen. x. 12, as having been founded by Nimrod, is *Resen*,⁵³ which is described as a great city that lay between Nineveh and Calach. Bochart⁵⁴ thought he found a trace of the Hebrew name in Larissa, a city mentioned by Xenophon in his account of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand.⁵⁵ As they moved eastward up the Tigris, they found, several miles north of the Lycus, a deserted city, called Larissa,⁵⁶ which was formerly in possession of the Medes. It was two parasangs in circuit, but nothing remained of it except the strong wall, a hundred feet high, and constructed of brick. The situation of this town would correspond pretty exactly to the position of Resen, as described by Moses;—only there is too little similarity in the names to warrant us in certainly identifying them as the same place. A Syrian annalist of the middle age mentions a place with a name of like sound,

Ressin,⁵⁷ among some other towns of the district of Mosul, which were destroyed by the Arabs in the eighth century.⁵⁸ But so little is known of the situation of this place, that it cannot even be ascertained whether it lay on the east or west side of the Tigris.

// About nine miles north of Mosul, on the east bank of the Tigris, lies a village, *Elkosh*,⁵⁹ now the seat of the chief patriarch of the Nestorians, who always bears the name of Elias, and to whose diocese nearly three hundred villages belong. Here, it is believed, the prophet Nahum was born and buried; and his grave, which is still shown, is visited in pilgrimage by the Jews.⁶⁰ Nahum is certainly styled an Elko-shite in the title of his prophecies, and it is possible that his ancestors were among the Israelitish colonists transplanted to Assyria by Tiglath-Pileser. In that case, it must be supposed that Nahum had returned to the land of his fathers;⁶¹ for there can be no doubt that it was there his denunciations against Nineveh were uttered. According to another ancient tradition, mentioned by Jerome, a village in Galilee called Elkesi, was believed to be the birth-place of the prophet.⁶² But which of these conjectures is the more probable, it is impossible now to determine.⁶³

One of the most considerable cities of the east part of Assyria was Arbela, between the Lycus

and Caprus, or the Great and Little Zab.⁶⁴ It was the place where the treasures of Darius were deposited, after his last unfortunate battle with Alexander at Gaugamela, ten geographical miles farther west;⁶⁵ and, as Arbela was the larger and better known place, the battle was called by its name. Abulfeda mentions it under the name of Irbil,⁶⁶ as a town of Persian Irak; and Niebuhr, who calls it Arbil, found on its site an inconsiderable village with a castle.⁶⁷ It belonged to the pachalic of Bagdad, and had a strong garrison of janissaries.^a The prophet Hosea mentions (ch. viii. 14), a place, Arbel or Beth-Arbel,⁶⁸ which was destroyed by Shalman, an Assyrian king. Some expositors would identify it with the above-mentioned Arbela in Assyria. But the prefixed epithet *Beth*, is never found except in names of places where Hebrew or Aramæan was spoken;⁶⁹ and the prophet seems to have had in view a town in Galilee, which is also mentioned in 1 Mac. ix. 2, and by Josephus,⁷⁰ and was destroyed in an early inroad of the Assyrians.

When Salmanassar, king of Assyria, had captured Samaria, and taken prisoner Hoshea, king of the ten tribes, he transplanted, according to the practice of ancient conquerors, a part of the Israelites to Assyria. “He gave them dwellings in Chalach and in Chabor on the river Gosan,

^a The more recent account by *Rich* will be found under Note 67.—M.

and in cities of Media," 2 Kings xvii. 6. Chalach was probably (as we remarked above at p. 127), the district round the modern Holwan. Chabor⁷¹ appears to have been the mountain tract between Media and Assyria, which Ptolemy calls Chaboras,⁷² where the river of the same name has its source, flowing into the Tigris in the district of Mosul. According to another opinion, Chabor was that province of Mesopotamia which is traversed by the river Chaboras. But that river is called in the Old Testament, Chebar.⁷³ The river Gosan was the stream which is now called the Kissil-Osan, and has been already mentioned in our description of Media.^a From this river, the district traversed by it, is called by Ptolemy, Gausania.⁷⁴

Another region, which was not within the limits of Assyria Proper, but lay on its border, and belonged to the Assyrian empire, was *Kir*,⁷⁵) whither the Damascenes conquered by the Assyrians were transplanted, (2 Kings xvi. 9. Amos i. 5); and whither also, according to Amos ix. 7, the Aramæans in the east of Syria, once wandered. Kir is probably a country on the river Kur, the Kuros (Cyrus) of the Greeks, (in Zend, *Koro*), which rises in the mountains between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and runs into the latter, after being joined by the Araxes.⁷⁶ The name Kur is likewise employed to denote a

^a See Vol. i. p. 180, and Appendix, p. 310.—M.

country through which it flows;⁷⁷ and Gurdjistan or Grusia (Grusinia), commonly called Georgia, seems also to have derived its name from this river Kur.⁷⁸

Sacred and profane writers agree in representing Assyria as one of the most ancient kingdoms of Asia. In the ethnographic table, in the 10th chapter of Genesis, (ver. 11), it is said that Nimrod went out from Babylonia into Assyria (implying that he conquered the latter country) and there built Nineveh.⁷⁹ Hence the prophet Micah (ch. v. 5) calls Assyria *the land of Nimrod*. The native accounts, preserved to us by Ctesias, designate the builder of Nineveh, and the founder of the Assyrian empire, by the name of Ninus;⁸⁰ and there is no reason for supposing this a different person from the Nimrod of scripture.⁸¹ What Ctesias reports of the extraordinary exploits of Ninus and his wife Semiramis, bears the impress of an exaggerated tradition,⁸² in which the actions of several kings of the same dynasty are combined into one narrative, and included within a single reign.⁸³ One thing seems evident from these accounts, viz. that the successors of Ninus extended their conquests in every direction. So early as the time of Moses (about 1500 years B. C.), Balaam, a seer from the banks of the Euphrates, foretels to the Kenites, a Canaanitish tribe on the east side of the

Jordan, their conquest and captivity by the Assyrians (Numb. xxiv. 22); at the same time announcing to the latter their subjection by a maritime people from Chittim, which lay to the west, (ver. 24). In the 83d Psalm (ver. 9), the Assyrians are mentioned among David's enemies, in connection with the Moabites, Edomites, Philistines and Tyrians; a proof that the Assyrian dominion, even at that period (B. c. 1000), reached as far as Syria.

The first Assyrian king mentioned in the historical books of scripture is Phul,⁸⁴ who, about the year B. c. 770, appeared in the kingdom of Israel (the country of the ten tribes), and compelled Menahem the king to pay a thousand talents of silver and become his ally, 2 Kings xv. 19. During the internal dissensions which prevailed in the kingdom of Israel, after the death of Jeroboam II., we gather from hints, given by the prophet Hosea (ch. v. 13; x. 6),⁸⁵ that the contending parties endeavoured to strengthen themselves against one another, by throwing themselves on the Assyrians for succour. When, a few years afterwards, Pekah, king of Israel, combined with Rezin, king of Syria, against the kingdom of Judah, which they proposed to divide between them, (Isa. vii. 6.) Ahaz, the Jewish king, sought help of Tiglath-pileser⁸⁶ king of Assyria, and purchased his support at a very heavy expense,

which, being unable to defray out of his own treasury, he paid with the gold and silver of the temple, (2 Kings xvi. 5—8). Tiglath-pileser seized the opportunity of annexing a portion of the Syrian and Israelitish states to his own dominions. He took Damascus, slew Rezin the king, and transferred the population to Kir, an Assyrian province (2 Kings xvi. 9);⁸⁷ treating, in a similar manner, the inhabitants of the conquered district of Israel, 2 Kings xv. 29.

Under Tiglath-pileser's successor, Salmanassar or Shalman (called in Tobit i. 2, Enemessar⁸⁸), the Assyrian monarchy reached its highest prosperity. The king of Israel, Hoshea, he rendered tributary (2 Kings xvii. 3), but as the latter, allying himself with Egypt, refused to pay the tribute-money, Salmanassar invaded his country, took Samaria the capital after a siege of three years, made the king prisoner, and reduced the kingdom of Israel to an Assyrian province about the year B. C. 730 or 720. The greater part of the inhabitants he transplanted to Mesopotamia, Assyria and Media, and settled in the land of Israel colonists from other parts of his empire, especially from Babylonia, 2 Kings xvii. 6, 24; xviii. 9, 10, 11. The whole of Phœnicia was subdued by Salmanassar with the exception of the island of Tyre, whose inhabitants defeated the ships which he had equipped in the other Phœnician sea-ports.⁸⁹ Besides these conquests,

the prophet Isaiah, writing a few years later, mentions (ch. xxii. 6) Elam and Kir also as furnishing their contingents of troops to swell the Assyrian host; whence it may be inferred, that about this period (B. C. 720) the empire reached the summit of its greatness, embracing the whole of Western Asia, from Persia to the Mediterranean, and from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf.

Yet even this colossal extent of territory did not satisfy the restless ambition of the Assyrian monarchs. Jealous of the influence of Egypt over the south-western provinces, (and there was evidently a considerable party among the Jews, who were in the interest of Egypt, Isa. xx. 5, 6; xxx. 2; xxxi. 1,) Sargon,⁹⁰ the successor of Salmanassar, endeavoured to subdue that country. The campaign seems to have been opened by Tartan, the Assyrian general, taking Ashdod (Isa. xx. 1), a fortress on the Egyptian frontier; and a passage in the prophecy of Nahum (ch. iii. 8—10) establishes the fact of an Assyrian army having, about this period, penetrated into Egypt, and taken No-Ammon, *i. e.* Thebes or Diospolis, the capital of Upper Egypt. Sardon appears to have died immediately after, and his army to have been withdrawn both from Egypt and Palestine; for Hezekiah, king of Judah, not long after the commencement of his reign, was em-

boldened to break off all connection with Assyria, and formed an alliance with Egypt, (2 Kings xviii. 7.)

In consequence of this, Sargon's successor, Sancherib,⁹¹ or Sennacherib, appeared in Palestine with an army for the conquest of Egypt, with the design of subduing Judæa on the way. He obtained possession of several strongholds ere Hezekiah was aware of his approach, (Isa. xxxvi. 1.) The Jewish king humbly sued for peace, and paid a large sum of money in the name of tribute, (2 Kings xviii. 14—16); but the Assyrian farther insisted on Jerusalem being given up to him, and sent his general, Rabshakeh, to demand its surrender, in terms of the most insolent contempt. But while one part of his army lay before Jerusalem, and another was advancing towards Egypt, he heard that Tirhakah, king of Æthiopia, was in the field against him. This circumstance, and the sudden destruction of a great part of his army by pestilence, compelled him to raise the siege of Jerusalem, and return to Nineveh, 2 Kings xviii. 13—37; ch. xix.; Isa. ch. xxxvi. and xxxvii. The eastern provinces of the empire took advantage of the unsuccessful expedition against Egypt for throwing off the Assyrian yoke. Media appears to have become a separate state about this period, under Dejoces;^a

^a See Vol. I. p. 173.

and in Babylon, Merodach-Baladan assumed the rank of an independent sovereign.^a The latter, however, was soon after murdered, and his successor Belibus was defeated and taken prisoner by Sennacherib, who, on regaining the dominion of Babylonia, appointed as viceroy his own son Esarhaddon, he himself returning to Assyria. Having heard of a revolt of the Græeks in Cilicia, he marched against them, and, though deserted by a part of his army, defeated them in battle. In memorial of the victory, he caused a statue of himself to be erected on the spot, and an account of his warlike exploits to be engraven in Chaldee characters upon a tablet of stone. He likewise founded the city of Tarsus, after the model of Babylon, and called it Tarsis.⁹²

After a reign of eighteen years, Sennacherib was murdered by his two sons Adrammelech and Sarezar, in the temple of Nisroch at Nineveh. The parricides fled to Armenia,⁹³ and the Assyrian throne was ascended by Esarhaddon,⁹⁴ who had been hitherto his father's viceroy at Babylon, 2 Kings xix. 37; Isa. xxxvii. 38. No farther mention is made of this monarch in scripture but that he settled certain colonists in Samaria, Ezra iv. 2. The conjecture of several learned men is not improbable, that Esarhaddon was the same person as Sardanapalus, who, being driven into his residence at Nineveh by the

^a See the present Volume, p. 41.

revolted Medes and Babylonians, and finding himself reduced to extremity, set fire to the palace and perished in the flames, along with his wives and treasures.⁹⁵ This much is certain, that the Jews were never disturbed by the Assyrians subsequently to the time of Sennacherib,⁹⁶ and that, soon after, the Chaldæans appear on the scene as the conquerors of Western Asia. Yet Assyria, though much weakened, and perhaps nearly reduced within its original boundaries, appears to have existed some time longer as an independent state. But about a hundred and twenty years after Esarhaddon, (B. C. 597), Cyaxares, king of Media, and Nabopalassar, viceroy of Babylon, combined against Assyria,^a took and destroyed Nineveh, and divided the empire between them, Assyria Proper now becoming a province of Media.^b

Respecting the political constitution and internal organization of the Assyrian Empire, and the state of society and manners, the historical fragments which relate to it are entirely silent. The Assyrians are only known in history as

^a See the present Volume, p. 46.

^b There is a famous History of Koordistan, called the "Tarikh al Akrad," the MS. of which Mr. Rich succeeded in procuring when in the country; and it is now, along with his other valuable oriental MSS., in the British Museum. See his Residence in Koordistan, Vol. I. p. 109, 247.—M.

conquerors. There is no trace of their having prosecuted remote foreign commerce by means of the Tigris, of their having been distinguished in any of the arts or sciences, or of their having exercised any material influence on the civilization of the nations whom they conquered. They had, no doubt, the same religion (namely, the symbolical worship of the stars and of nature), and also the same language, in common with the other neighbouring tribes of the great Medo-Persian family.

1. אשור, אשׁר 1 Chron. v. 6. This name has been preserved in **اٲور** Athur, a very ancient city on the Tigris, not far from Mosul, which, in the time of Abulfeda, was in ruins.^a See his description of Meso-

^a To the north-east of Mosul, at the distance of six caravan, or four horseman's hours, are the ruins of a place called *Nimrod*, supposed by Rich to be the Larissa of Xenophon. A short account of the principal ruin, with a copy of the cuneiform inscriptions found there, has been given in his work on Koordistan, Vol. II. p. 129, et seqq. "The Turks generally believe this to have been Nimrod's own city; and one or two of the better informed, with whom I conversed at Mosul, said it was *Al Athur* or *Ashur*, from which the whole country was denominated. It is curious that the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Deraweish still consider Nimrod as their founder. The village story-tellers have a book they call the '*Kisseh Nimrod*,' or Tales of Nimrod, with which they entertain the peasants on a winter night." All this seems to give countenance to the translation of Gen. x. 11:—"Out of that land he (*i. e.* Nimrod) went forth into Asshur."—M.

potamia in *Paulus'* New Repert. Part III. p. 31, where, however, it is misprinted *انور*. Comp. the Latin translation [by Reiske] in *Büsching's* Magazin, Part IV. p. 247. *Goliüs* on Alfargani, p. 235, and *Büsching's* Geography of Asia, p. 267.

2. *Dio Cassius*, LXVIII. 28: Καὶ τοῦ καὶ Ἀτυρία διὰ τοῦτο βαρβαριστὶ τῶν Σίγμα ἐς τὸ ταῦ μεταπεσόντων, ἐκλήθη. Some erroneously state that Aturia was also the name of a particular province. See *Mannert*, Vol. II. p. 426.

3. See *Ptolemy's* Geogr. VI. 1.

4. The *Kurds* (کرد, collectively اکراد Acrad), the descendants of the Gordiæans and Carduchians, are a barbarous and warlike people, whose tribes partly follow the occupation of nomadic shepherds, and partly live in villages, but are, for the most part, addicted to robbery and plunder, and carry their predatory excursions far beyond the limits of their own country towards the west and south. See *Della Valle's* Travels, Part II. p. 3, 4. *Otter's* Voyage, Tom. I. p. 115. *Niebuhr's* Travels, Part II. p. 109, 330. *Volney's* Voyages, Tom. I. p. 364 of the fourth edit. *Ker Porter's* Travels, Vol. II. p. 467, [and especially *Rich's* Residence in Kurdistan *passim*]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* (LXXIII. 6) describes Assyria “multi-formi feracitate ditissimam, ubi inter baccarum vulgariumque abundantiam frugum; bitumen nascitur, rel.”

[The following is *Buxtorff's* article on the Kar-duchian or Gordiæan Mountains. Comp. our former

volume, p. 294: “קַרְדּוֹן קַרְדּוֹ *Kardu, montes Armeniae altissimi, in quorum vertice arca Noæ, cessante diluvio, subsedit. Eas Ptolemæus vocat Gordæos, Q. Curtius Cordæos*: עַל טוֹרֵי קַרְדּוֹ Super montes Kardu. Hebr. עַל הַר אֲרָרַט, Genes. viii. 4, in Onkelo. Jonathan autem עַל טוֹרֵי דְקַרְדּוֹן שׁוֹם טוֹרָא חַד קַרְדִּינָא וְשׁוֹם טוֹרָא חַד אֲרַמִּינָא Super montes Kardōn; nomen montis unius Kardonia, nomen montis alterius Armenia, et ibi ædificata est urbs Armenia in terra orientis. *Hinc populos in istis locis habitantes historici vocarunt Καρδοίαις, Gordæos, Cordionos, Gordenos, Cordyæos. Vide Josephum, lib. 1, Antiq. cap. 4. Junium, Mercerum, et alios in hoc caput. Item Fullerum in Miscel. Theolog. lib. 1, cap. 4. וְאֵנּוֹן אֲשֶׁתִּזְיְבוּ לְאַרְעָא דְקַרְדּוֹ. Et isti proripuerunt se in terram Kardu. Jesa. xxxv. xxxvii. 2 Reg. xix. v. 37, מַלְכּוֹת אֲרָעָא דְקַרְדּוֹ. Regna terræ Kardu, Jerem. li. 27.”*

“קַרְדִּינָא, קַרְדִּינָא, קוֹרְדִּינָא *Kardyanum, Armeniacum*: Tal. וּבַעַא מִנִּי דִּינְרָא קוֹרְדִּינָא Et petiit a me numum,” [*i. e. a Dinār*]. “Kardyanum, id est, ex montibus sive montanis Ararat sive Armeniae ut in glossa explicatur, Cholin, fol. 542. חִיטֵי קוֹרְדִּינָא Triticum Cordonium, Armenicum, Pesach. fol. 7, 1.” *Buxtorfi, Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum, semipag. 2125.*]

5. “Kurdistan,” says *Niebuhr*, loc. cit., p. 330, “is a mountainous country, but very productive, espe-

cially in gall-nuts (of which an immense quantity is yearly sent to Aleppo, and thence exported to Europe), in manna (used throughout the whole district instead of sugar), in cotton, rice, tobacco, grapes and figs. They also raise here madder (*fua*), a kind of coarse vegetable silk, growing on trees, and mastich (*alk*), which is not, however, so good as that from the Island of Chio." Comp. *Olivier*, Voyage, Tom. IV. p. 270. *Rauwolf*, who travelled from Bagdad to Aleppo by way of Mosul, at the end of the year 1574, speaks with admiration of the finely cultivated fields on the Tigris, so fruitful in corn, wine and honey, as to remind him of Rabshakeh's description in 2 Kings xviii. 32.

[These accounts are confirmed by the more recent observations of Rich: "The usual increase of grain is about five to ten to one of seed; fifteen is an extraordinary good crop. Last year^a the crops of grain were bad, and yielded only two. Wheat and barley are sown alternately in the same ground. They depend on the rain;^b which mode of agriculture is called *dern*. There is a kind of corn called *bahara*, which is sown in the spring, and requires artificial irrigation. In the plains, the ground is not allowed to lie fallow; but it is relieved by alternating the crops of wheat and barley. In the hilly country, the land must rest every other year.

^a Rich was in Koordistan in 1820.—M.

^b It must be remembered that much of the cultivation in the East is watered by the help of artificial means, such as aqueducts and canals.

Cotton must never be sown twice running in the same ground; some crops of tobacco generally intervene. The cotton is all of the annual kind, and generally requires watering, though in the hilly grounds some is grown by the means of rain. Manure is applied only to vines and tobacco. Rice should not be sown for several years running in the same ground, which, however, may be employed for other grain. The rice is chiefly grown in the district of Sheri-zoor. No hemp or flax is grown in Koordistan. Omar Aga told me, that this year he has thrown into the ground a small quantity of flax-seed which he procured from a hadgee [*i. e.* pilgrim], who had brought it from Egypt. Much Indian corn, millet, lentiles, grain, and one or two other species of pulse, are grown. The plough is drawn by two bullocks. No trees of the orange or lemon will flourish in Koordistan. The summer heat is, indeed, more than adequate; but the winter is too severe for them. The pasha lately procured some Seville oranges and sweet lime plants from Bagdad for his new garden; but the first winter killed them. The *ricinus*, or castor oil plant, is cultivated all over Koordistan; sometimes in separate fields, sometimes mixed with cotton.

“ A great quantity of honey, of the finest quality, is produced in Koordistan; the bees are kept in hives of mud. Gall-nuts are produced in great abundance, especially in the dwarf oak forest of Karadagh. They are exported to Kerkook, and thence to Mousul. The plant which produces gum Arabic, grows wild in

the mountains. It has a purple flower, and is called *ghewun*. Manna^a is found on the dwarf-oak, though several other plants are said to produce it, but not so abundantly, or of such good quality. It is collected by gathering the leaves of the tree,^b letting them dry, and then gently threshing them on a cloth. It is thus brought to market in lumps, mixed with an immense quantity of fragments of leaves, from which it is afterwards cleared by boiling. There is another kind of manna, found on the rocks and stones, which is quite pure, of a white colour, and is much more esteemed than the tree manna. The manna season begins in the latter end of June, at which period, when a night is more than usually cool, the Koords say it rains manna, and maintain that the greatest quantity is always found in the morning after such a night.”—*Rich's Residence in Koordistan*, 2 vol. London, 1836, Vol. I. p. 132, 142.]

6. I. 178.

7. XVI. 1.

8. Exped. of Alexand. VII. p. 453.

9. XXIII. 20.

10. Thus, *Dionysius Periegeta*, v. 975.

11. ذَيْبٌ دِيبَا، ذَابْ ; hence Ζάβατος, the name by

^a Called in Turkish, *kudret hulvassi*, or the divine sweetmeat; in Arabic, *musee*; in Persian, *ghexungubeen*; in Koordish, *ghezo*.

^b “The manna on each leaf did pearled lie,”—*Fairfax's Tasso*.

which the great Zab is mentioned by Xenophon (Anab. Cyri, II. 5.)^a

12. Both these rivers are minutely treated of by *Wahl* in his *Asia*, p. 719, et seqq. Comp. *Mannert*, Part V. Div. 2, p. 434.

13. See *Tavernier's Travels*, II. 7.

14. אֶהוּא. The Sept. expresses this name at verses 21, 31, by Ἰουῆ, but at v. 15, by Ἐυῆ.

15. This conjecture is founded on the very slight resemblance of the name Ahava to that of the river Adiaba or Diaba, from which, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, (XXIII. 20.), the Assyrian province Adiabene took its name. As Adiaba or Diaba was probably formed from Dsab, this river was doubtless the Lycus; and that is the opinion of Junius, Grotius, and Calmet. But Adiaba would be written in Hebrew הַדְאָב or הַזְאָב, which can never have been the same with אֶהוּא.

16. In defence of the above opinion, *Le Clerc* (Comment. on Ezra viii. 15,) has recourse to the very improbable conjecture, that, to avoid the hot

^a “ All the Koords and people of these parts call the Zab, *Zerb*. The Zab seems the Arabic name taken from the Chaldeans. Bochart's etymology is ingenious and plausible,” Rich's *Koordistan*, Vol. II. p. 20, *note*. Comp. p. 407. Where he crossed it (on a *kellek* or raft), between Arbil and Mosul, it was, at its narrowest, not above 400 feet over, but about two or three fathoms and a half deep. The current was very rapid; the water beautifully transparent, and of a sky-blue colour. In spring, it often spreads itself over the whole plain. —M.

climate of southern Mesopotamia and Arabia Deserta, Ezra appointed the rendezvous of the returning exiles to be in the north of Assyria, and led them into Judæa by way of Syria.

17. VI. 1.

18. אַרְפַּכְשָׁר. See the last chapter, note 125. Comp. *Wahl's* Asia, p. 627.

19. Thus, *Bochart*, Geog. Sac. Part I. Lib. II. cap. 4.

20. Yet this is doubted by *Vater*, in his Comment. on Gen. x. 22.

21. חֲלִי: in *Ptolemy*, Καλαζινή, in *Strabo*, XVI. 1, Καλαζήνη.

22. Hist. Nat. V. 12. Adiabene, Assyria antea dicta.

23. L. XXIII. Cap. 6. § 20. Juxta hunc circuitum Adiabena est, Assyria priscis temporibus vocitata, longaue adsuetudine ad hoc translata vocabulum ea re, quod inter Onam et Tigridem sita navigeros fluvios, adiri vado nunquam potuit: *transire* enim διαβαίνειν dicimus Graeci; et veteres quidem hoc arbitrantur. Nos autem id dicimus, quod in his terris omnes sunt duo perpetui, quos et transivimus,

Diabas et Adiabas (ذيب, ديبا), juncti navalibus pontibus; ideoque intelligi Adiabenenem cognominatam, cet. The Diaba and Adiaba are the Great and Little Dsab; see note 11. The Syrians call Adiabene ܠܚܕܝܐ Chadyab. See *Assemani's* Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. P. II. p. DCCVIII. In the Talmud, it is called הדיב, e. g. in Moed-Katon, fol. 28. 1. זוגא מן הדיב, a couple (of wise men) from Hadyab. In Baba-

bathre, fol. 26. 2, mention is made of a יַעֲקֹב הַדִּיבָא, Jacob from Adiabene. In Kiddushin, fol. 72. 1, is found חַדִּיב, as also in the Chaldee Version, at Ezek. xxvii. 23, for עֶדֶן. On the other hand, in Jer. li. 27, there is הַדִּיב for אֲשַׁכְנֶנּוּ.

24. *Mannert*, loc. cit., p. 452.

25. *Mannert*, p. 456.

26. *Mannert*, p. 464. The province of Chalonitis, which is reckoned by some as part of Assyria, belongs properly to Babylonia, (see above, p. 30); and it is only when the name Assyria is used in a large but loose sense, as including Babylonia, that Chalonitis can be considered to belong to it.

27. נִינוּה.

28. נֹוּה and נֹוּה signify in Heb. *dwelling, abode*.

29. The designation of "Nimrod" was evidently a reproachful *sobriquet* imposed by enemies, (see chap. viii., note 114), and not his own proper name. Nothing is more common among the people of the east (especially the Arabs and Persians), than to express any peculiar trait of character by the imposition of a surname, by which the individual becomes better known than by his original name. Of this description are the surnames El-Mokanna, Aswed el Ansa, Saffach, Motenebbi, Hariri, Attar, Hafiz, Djezzar, &c.

30. See below, note 79.

31. See *Herodot.* I. 193; II. 101. *Diodor. Sicul.* II. 3. *Plin. Hist.* VI. 13.

32. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, XVIII. 16. Postquam reges *Nineve*, Adiabænæ civitate transmissa, in

medio pontis Anzabae hostiis cæsis, extisque prosperantibus transiere laetissimi.

33. See Vol. I. p. 68, note 25.

34. *Abulfeda* says, in the Description of Mesopotamia (New Repert. of *Paulus*, Part III. p. xxxi.) وقبالة

الموصل من البر الآخر الشرقي مدينة نينوي الخراب “ opposite Mausul, on the east bank (of the Tigris), lies the destroyed city of Nineveh.” And a little below : ومدينة نينوي هذه هي البلدة التي

ارسل اليها يونس عم “ The city of Nineveh is that to which the prophet Jonah was sent—upon whom be peace!” *Niebuhr* says, (Travels, Part II. p. 353), “ Before reaching Mosul from the east bank, we rode through Nineveh. According to the opinion of the Christians at Mosul, this city extended from Kadikend to Jeremdja, villages which are only eight or nine miles separate, and lie upon the Tigris; but the Jews maintain, that it was three days’ journey in length. I could perceive no traces of so remarkable a place till I approached the river. Here a village was pointed out to me, situated on a broad hill, and called Nunia, and a mosque, in which the prophet Jonah is supposed to have been buried. The Jews cherish a deep veneration for this grave to the present day.....Another hill in this country is called Kalla Nunia, or the Castle of Nineveh. On it lies a village, Koindjug. At Mosul, where I lived close upon the Tigris, they pointed out to me the walls of Nineveh, which I would have taken for a range of

hills." Comp. *Rauwolf's Travels*, p. 244. *Tavernier*, Part I. Book II. chap. 4. *Ives*, Part II. *Olivier*, *Voyages*, Tom. IV. p. 283.—*Diodorus Siculus*, (II. 3.), following Ctesias, erroneously places Nineveh on the Euphrates, contrary to the express testimony of Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy, (see *Wesseling* in loc.), as well as to the traditions of the country.

35. It is mentioned by Niebuhr among the places lying on the east bank of the Tigris, and south of Mosul. He says: "At Nimrud, a ruined castle, about eight leagues from Mosul, there is a dam built into the Tigris from both sides, for the purpose of leading off as much water as is necessary for irrigating the neighbouring country. This has not the appearance of a Mahommedan structure, and must therefore have resisted the rapid stream for several thousand years." [See *Rich*, as cited under note 1.]

36. The opinion of the travellers mentioned in note 34, is controverted by *Otter*, (*Voyage*, Tom I. ch. xiii. p. 133), who maintains, according to the tradition preserved by the inhabitants of Mosul, that Nineveh stood on the west bank of the Tigris, on the site of Eski-Mosul (Old-Mosul), nine leagues north of the present town of that name, (see *Niebuhr*, loc. cit. p. 377.) But this seems to have been merely the opinion of a single Mahommedan doctor. *Mannert*, likewise, (loc. cit. p. 441), places ancient Nineveh on the west side of the Tigris, but much farther south, towards Babylon. He thinks that the town, on the east bank, which is called Nineveh by Ptolemy and other ancient writers, did not, in reality, bear that name, but

was *Larissa*. This opinion rests upon certain fallacies, into the exposure of which we cannot here enter. Comp. *Schulthess*, *Das Paradies*, p. 116.

[Towards the end of last century, *Campbell* of Barbreck published a "Journey Overland to India," in which, along with much worthless matter, there are occasional illustrations of Scripture. He thus writes of the site of ancient Nineveh: his allusion to the excessive heat will recal the history of Jonah.

"It was early in the evening, when the pointed turrets of the city of Mosul opened on our view, and communicated no very unpleasant sensations to my heart. I found myself on Scripture ground, and could not help feeling some portion of the pride of the traveller, when I reflected that I was now within sight of Nineveh, renowned in holy writ. The city is seated in a very barren sandy plain, on the banks of the Tigris. The external view of the town is much in its favour, being encompassed with stately walls of solid stone, over which the steeples or minarets, and other lofty buildings, are shewn with increased effect. Here I first saw a caravan encamped, halting on its march from the Gulf of Persia to Armenia; and it certainly made a most noble appearance, filling the eye with a multitude of grand objects, all uniting to form one magnificent whole.

"But though the outside be so beautiful, the inside is most detestable: the heat is so intense, that in the middle of the day there is no stirring out, and even at night the walls of the houses are so heated by the day's sun, as to produce a disagreeable heat to the body at a foot or even a yard distance from them.

However, I entered it with spirits, because I considered it as the last stage of the worst part of my pilgrimage. But, alas ! I was disappointed in my expectation ; for the Tigris was dried up by the intensity of the heat, and an unusual long drought, and I was obliged to take the matter with a patient shrug, and accommodate my mind to a journey on horse-back..... Besides this, the ordinary heat of the climate is extremely dangerous to the blood and lungs, and even to the skin, which it blisters and peels from the flesh, affecting the eyes so much, that travellers are obliged to wear a transparent covering over them to keep the heat off.”—*Campbell's Journey Overland to India.* Part II. p. 130.]

37. In Jon. iii. 3, it is termed “ a great city of God.” On this expression see our present volume, Chap. VIII. note 112. According to *Herodotus* (I. 178), Babylon was 480 stadia in circuit, and the same extent is ascribed to Nineveh by Diodorus Siculus, who adds: τηλικαύτην δὲ πόλιν οὐδεὶς ὕστερον ἔκτισε κατὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ περιβόλου, καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος μεγαλοπρέπειαν. *Strabo*, on the other hand, expressly says (XVI. 1, 3): Νῆνος ἡ πόλις πολὺ μείζων ἦν τῆς Βαβυλῶνος. Comp. *Jos. Matt. Hase's* (Professor of Mathematics at Wittenberg): De magnitudine comparata et determinata urbium, quae propter magnitudinem celebres habentur, potissimum in antiquitate itemque nostris temporibus inquisitio, p. 22, of his *Regni Davidici et Salomonei Descriptio*, Nuremberg, 1739, fol.

38. מֵהַלֵּךְ שְׁלֹשָׁה יָמִים. Some, as Hase (loc. cit.), understand this of the length of the city, which seems

countenanced by Jon. iii. 4, where it is said that Jonah “went into the city a day’s journey.

39. II. 3.

40. Diodor. Sic. ut antea.

40^a. Diodor. Sic. II. 26. Ἦν οὐ αὐτῷ λόγιον παρα-
δεδομένον ἐκ προγόνων ὅτι τὴν Νῆνον οὐδεὶς ἔλῃ κατὰ κράτος,
εἰὰν μὴ πρότερον ὁ ποταμὸς τῇ πόλει γένηται πολέμιος.
Some expositors have conjectured, and not without probability, that there is a reference to this circumstance in the prediction of the downfall of Nineveh by the prophet Nahum. Thus in ch. i. 8, “with an overflowing flood he will make a full end,” and in ch. ii. 6, “The stream breaks through the gates, and down falls the palace.” Yet in the former passage a destroying flood may represent the number and impetuosity of the besieging army.

41. *Annall.* L. XII. Cap. 13. Tramissoque amne Tigri, permeant Adiabenos. — — Sed capta in transitu urbs Ninos, vetustissima sedes Assyriae.

42. L. XVIII. Cap. 7. Postquam reges Nineve Adiabene ingenti civitate transmissa rel. L. XXIII. Cap. 6, § 22. In hac Adiabene Ninus est civitas, quae olim Persidis regna possederat, nomen Nini, potentissimi quondam regis, Semiramidis mariti, declarans. A castle of Nineveh, حصن نينوي, is mentioned in the thirteenth century, by Abulfaraj, in the Arabian Chronicle (Histor. Dynast. p. 404, 441), and in the Syrian, p. 464.

43. רחבת עיר.

44. Not “streets of *the* city,” *i. e.* of Nineveh, for in this case, as is correctly remarked by *Bochart*,

(Phaleg. IV. 21, p. 289), it would have been רַחֲבַת הָעִיר, the article being required before the second noun. See *Gesenius* Lehrgeb. p. 660. Comp. *J. D. Michaelis*, Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr. Exter. Part I. p. 241.

45. Thus Bochart, loc. cit. along with the LXX. τῆν Ῥωβῶν πόλιν, Saadiah, قرية الرحبة and the Arab. رحبوت البلد. In like manner, the town in Bœotia, famous for the defeat of the Persians, was called Platæa, Πλαταιαί (for πλαταιῆαι), q. d. "streets."

46. The Samaritan translator has rendered רַחֲבַת עִיר by סַטְכֵן. An Assyrian city, Sittake, from which one of the southernmost provinces of Assyria was called Sittakene, is mentioned by Ptolemy (VI. 1), who places it far to the east of the Tigris. It must have therefore been a different town of the same name through which Xenophon passed (Anabas. II. 47), on the east bank of the Tigris, probably on the site of old Bagdad. But whether either of these places was in the eye of the Samaritan translator (who shews but little acquaintance with geography) is very uncertain. A place called *Rechoboth on the Euphrates*,^a רַחֲבוֹת הַנָּהָר, is mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 37, as the birth-place of Saul, a prince of the Edomites. But, as *Bochart* observes, (loc. cit.), this could not have been the Rechoboth in question, as the locality was too far from Assyria. Yet Schulthess (Des Paradies, p. 117),

^a Literally, "Rechoboth of the river," or "by the river," as in the authorized version.—M.

holds Rechoboth Ir, to have been the same as the Rechoboth of Saul. *Bochart* supposes the former place to have been that which is called by *Ptolemy*, Birtha, and by *Ammianus Marcellinus* (XX. 7, 17), Virta : (Virtam adoriri disposuit [Sapores], monimentum valde vetustum in extremo quidem Mesopotamiae situm etc.). But this rests merely upon the slight resemblance of the name to the Chaldee word בְּרִיתָא (pronounced *Beritha*, but it ought, no doubt, to be sounded *Baraitha*), which in the Talmud, signifies “a street,” like the Heb. רֶחֶב. And, besides the weakness of this analogy, Rechoboth Ir lay on the east side of the Tigris, in Assyria, and not on the west side, in Mesopotamia or Babylonia. *Michaelis* (loc. cit. p. 243), follows Ephrem the Syrian, who, in his Comment. takes Rechoboth Ir for Chadyab i. e. Adiabene. See above note 23. He must be understood as merely conjecturing that it lay in the province of Adiabene, for a town of that name is nowhere mentioned. *Michaelis*, indeed, endeavours to find one in the passage adduced from *Ammianus Marcellinus* (XVIII. 7), in note 42. He quotes : Reges Ninive, Adiabene ingenti civitate transmissa transiere laetissimi, and then adds : habemus ergo hic Adiabenen, ingentem civitatem, in Assyria maxime propria non procul ab aliquo Zabi fluminis ponte sitam, sed nostris geographis ignotam, et cujus rudera nemo adhuc, quantum scio, descripsit. But in the above cited passage of *Ammianus*, we must read throughout *Adiabenæ* or *Adiabenes*, so that the “ingens civitas,” is Nineveh.

48. XI. 4, 8: XI. 13, 12. It is there said, that Armenus, with the colonists he led forth, dwelt between Atilisine and Syspiritis, ἕως Καλαχανῆς καὶ Ἀδιαβηνῆς, ἕξω τῶν Ἀρμενιανῶν ὄρων: and at the beginning of Book XVI. Χαλακηνή is mentioned among the provinces of Assyria.

49. VI. 1. Καλακίνη.

50. כלח. *Michaelis*, in his *Spicileg. Geogr.* Part I. p. 245, alleges as a reason why כלח and חלח cannot be identical, that the two letters ח and כ are never found interchanged. But this is not correct, as had previously been shewn by *Bochart*, loc. cit. Part I. Lib. IV. cap. 22, p. 291, who brings forward several instances of such a commutation. Thus in the Second Targum at Esth. vi. 12, there is חתחס for אחכס, “to be cast down.” In Arabic, both كنز and خزن signify “to lay aside, to hoard up treasure.” Other examples will be found in *Gesenius’* Lexicon, under the letter כ.

51. حُلْوَان, مَصْع, مَذَب. See *Assemani’s* Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. Part II. p. 418, et seqq., and *Abulfeda* in *Busching’s* Magazine, Part IV. p. 262, who makes the distance of this place from Bagdad five days’ journey.^a

^a “Holwân est ultima urbium ‘Irâcae; inde adscenditur ad el-Gêbâl. Fructuum ceterorum omnium ficus copiosissimas profert; neque in ‘Irâca est urbs quae prope accedat ad montem, praeter hanc, et cadunt in monte ejus nives. Et Ibn Haucal utique dicit: Holwân est urbs in pede montis, qui imminet ‘Irâcae, ibique sunt palmae et ficus celebres; nix ab ea abest unius diei itinere. Et dicit in el-Moschtareko: Holwân

52. *J. D. Michaelis* (Spicileg. Part I., 245), follows Ephrem the Syrian, who, in his Comment. at Gen. x. 11, takes כְּלֶח for כְּלֶח Chetro. But as there were two places of this name, one in Mesopotamia, on the west bank of the Tigris, and another in Maraga, not far from the source of the Lycus, quite in the east of Assyria, Michaelis takes כְּלֶח for the latter of these places. Comp. *Assemani*, loc. cit. Tom III. Part I. p. 485, and Part II. p. 709. But Ephrem probably intended rather the Chetro of Mesopotamia, not far from Takrit. Comp. the extracts from the Syrian lexicographers Bar-Bahlul, and Bar-Ali, in the Preface to *Gesenius'* Heb. Lexicon, p. 24 of the second Edit. This Chetro is doubtless the Chatra-charta of Ptolemy (VI. 1.) *i. e.* חֶטְרָא קֶרְתָּא, "the city Chatra." *Abulfeda* mentions it in his description of Mesopotamia (in Paulus Repertor, Part III. p. 30), under the name of الحضر, El-Chatr, with the remark, that it was an ancient, but then desolate town, and that there was also a city of the same name between Mecca and Medina. The opinion of Saadias, that Kalach was Obolla, a place on the Shat-el-Arab, near Bassora, is quite untenable.

53. דַּסְנָא. Comp. above, chap. viii. note 74. The LXX. have read דַּסְנָא, with daleth, for they write, Δασῆνα. *Assemani* (Bibl. Or. Tom. III. Part II. p. 743), mentions an Assyrian city of a very similar name, داسنا, Dasena, which was the see of a bishop, who was *est ultimus limes 'Irâcae a regione Gēbâl; inter eam et Bagdâdum est iter quinque dierum. Holwân est quoque pagus super el-Fas'tâ't ad duas parasangas, imminens Nilo.*" Wustenfeld's *Abulfeda*, p. 20.—M.

a suffragan of the Metropolitan of Adiabene. Yet the rest of the ancient translators who have preserved the Hebrew name, write it with the ʾ resh. [See the note from Rich, at p. 174.]

54. Phaleg. Lib. IV. cap. 23, p. 291.

55. Book III. cap. 3.

56. Besides this Assyrian Larissa, there were nine or ten towns of this name in Western Asia and Greece. See the Index to *Cellarii* Notit. Orbis Antiqui.

57. ܐܝܢ. If Ressin were the same town as Rish-Ain (which, however, is doubtful; see the next note), then it would not be improbable that the former name was an abbreviated mode of pronouncing the original name, ܐܝܢ ܐܝܢ; Rish-Ain, which words signify “caput fontis.” For Ephrem says, in his Comment. at Gen. x. 12, that ܐܝܢ Rassa, which he puts for the Hebrew רסן (the Peschito has ܐܝܢ), was ܐܝܢ ܐܝܢ; and Assemani remarks (ibid. p. 709), that Ephrem did not here mean the Rish-Ain, lying in Mesopotamia, but another in Assyria, beyond the Tigris, “quae Thomae Margensi in historia monastica dicitur ܐܝܢ ܐܝܢ; ܐܝܢ ܐܝܢ; ܐܝܢ ܐܝܢ; ܐܝܢ ܐܝܢ Rhesin, vicus Saphsaphre, in regione Margae.”

58. Immediately after the words quoted at the end of the foregoing note, *Assemani* adds: in Chronico Dionysii, Jacobitarum Patriarchae, ad annum 772, inter urbes regionis Mosulanae, quae Arabes depopulati feruntur, recensetur ܐܝܢ, quam esse *Resen* Scripturae, nullus dubito. Ibi enim conjungitur cum Bethgarma, Hasa, Marga, Chonizapor, Coch et Salacha, quae sunt urbes Assyriae. It is not clear whether the Rish-Ain of Ephrem and the Ressin of Assemani be different

towns, or only different names for the same town. *Assemani* seems to incline to the latter opinion; and *Michaelis* (*Spicileg.* Part I. p. 248), has no doubt of it, and, moreover, builds upon the meaning of "Rish-Ain," (*caput fontis*), the supposition that Resen lay not far from Schehrezur, where the river Diala has its source, between Nineveh and Maraga. Yet it is more likely that Rish-Ain and Ressin, were different places.^a

59. *القوش*, *القوش*, in *Assemani*, Tom. III. Part I. p. 352, note.

60. *Niebuhr's Travels*, Part II. p. 352.

61. This is *Eichhorn's* opinion in his *Introduct.* Part III. § 585, p. 317 of the third edit.

62. *Jerome* says (*Comment. on Nahum*, i. 1.) *Helcesei*, usque hodie in Galilaea viculus est, parvus quidem, et vix ruinis veterum aedificiorum indicans vestigia, sed tamen notus Judaeis, et mihi quoque a circumducente monstratus.

63. *Jahn* (in his *Introd.* Part II. p. 509,) takes *Elkesei*, in Galilee, for the birth-place of Nahum, and *Elkush*, in Assyria, for a town built in later times, as it is mentioned by no ancient writer. But where have we a complete description of Assyria by any ancient writer? [It appears from *Rich's* work on Kourdistan, that there is still a town, *Al-Kosh*, near *Baadli*, the capital of the *Yezids*, (*Vol. II.* p. 88, 9). It is entirely inhabited by *Chaldæans*.

^a "Resin or Ras-ul-Ain, *i. e.* head of the waters, is an old place and convent under the mountain, at the farthest extremity of the vale of Naoker (near Mosul)." *Rich's Koordistan*, Vol. II. p. 81.—M.

On the right of it, about a mile higher up the mountain, is the Chaldæan convent of Rabban Hormuz, of which a very striking view is given by Rich (Vol. II. p. 99). The people of Al-kosh are a very stout independent set, and can muster about 400 musketeers, (p. 100). He adds (p. 111), "I am ashamed to say, a very remarkable circumstance had escaped my notice until I was made aware of it to-day by Matran Hanna. Al-kosh was the birth-place of the prophet Nahum, and also his burial-place. His tomb is still shewn there, and Jews from all parts come on pilgrimage to it. I must here remark, that the Jews are generally to be trusted for local antiquities. Their pilgrimage to a spot is almost a sufficient test.^a From Al-kosh people go in seven days to Urmiah; viz. two to Amadia, two to Julamerk, three to Urmiah."]

64. *Strabo*, XVI. 1, 3. Comp. *Cellarius* Notit. Orbis Antiq. Tom. II. Lib. III. Cap. 17, § 15.

65. *Arrian*, III. 15. *Curtius* IV. 9: V. 1.

66. ^وأربيل. See *Schultens* Index Geogr. to his Edit. of the "Vita Saladini" under *Arbela*; and *Iracæ Persicæ Descriptio* [by Abulfeda], Edit. Uylenbroek, p. 54 of the Arab. text.

67. *Travels*, Part II. p. 342: "On the 14th of March (1766) we travelled three and a half [German] miles, as far as Arbil ^عأربيل. This is no doubt the

^a Marius, in a letter to Busbequius, quoted in *Assemani*, speaks of Alcus (Alkosh) as the country of Nahum the prophet, and celebrated, both by Jews and Christians, as containing his tomb.—*Assemann*. I. p. 525.

same place as Arbela, which became famous from the battle between Alexander and Darius. It had, for many years, its own hereditary Mahommedan princes, whose territory extended into Persia as far as Tauris. The town was then very large, and had a castle on a lofty eminence. At present there are the remains of this castle (but without a wall), and some houses, on the brow of the hill, built of burnt brick; but below the hill, where stood the former city, are only a few mean cottages."

[The following is a more recent description by Rich: "We mounted again at twelve, and travelling in a north direction, at half-past one came in sight of Arbil, bearing N. 10 E.; soon after which I took a sketch of it [given in his work], the view of the high flat mount, probably the burial-place of the Arsacidæ, crowned by a castle, and backed by the Carduchian mountains, being really very impressive. The people of Arbil are Koords and Turks. All around are ruins or rather heaps of rubbish. Remains of the wall and ditch are traceable. The town was once evidently very large, probably about the size of modern Bagdad. Arbil is situated at the foot of the artificial mount, principally on the south side, and contains a bath, caravanserais and bazaars. Some portion of the town is situated on the Mount, or what is called the Castle. On the east, or a little north of the town, is a hollow called the Valley of Tchekunem, where it is said Tamerlane's tent was pitched when he besieged Arbil. A holy sheikh of Arbil struck a panic into his army, which began to disperse; and Tamerlane is reported to have cried out in Persian,

“Tchekunem?” that is, “What shall I do?” and this gave name to the valley or hollow.

The artificial mount on which the castle of Arbil stands, is, I conjecture, about 150 feet high, and 300 or 400 yards in diameter. It was once, doubtless, much higher, and it is probable the summit of it was mined by Caracalla. Some time ago, when Hagee Abdulla Bey was building on this mount, he dug up a sepulchre, in which was a body laid in state, quite perfect, the features fully recognizable; but it fell to dust shortly after it had been exposed to the air. If, as I believe, this was the burial place of Arsacidæ, may not this have been the body of a Parthian king? Hajee Cossim Bey informed me that the interior of the mount is divided into compartments by brick work, composed of large bricks, with no inscriptions on them, as he ascertained by digging into it from a sirdaub or cellar in his house, which stands in the castle.” *Rich's Koordistan*, Vol. II. p. 14—18. No. I. of his Appendix, contains Astronomical Observations made at Arbil, and No. II. “Notes on the Battle of Arbela.”]

68. בית ארבאל.

69. See the Hebrew Lexicons, under בית.

70. Antiq. XIV. 15. Jewish War, I. 16. 2.

71. חבור. Chabor.

72. VI. 1. ὁ Χαβώνας δὲ ὕψος. On the double river Chaboras, see the passage from Yakuti in *Schultens' Geogr. Index to the Life of Saladin*. Comp. *Wahl's Asia*, p. 718.

73. כֶּבֶר, Chebar. Ezek. i. 3; iii. 15, 23.

74. Comp. *Rennell's Geogr. of Herodotus*. Some

take Gosan for a country of Northern Mesopotamia, the Gauzanitis of Ptolemy (VI. 18.) But the "cities of Media" (which are mentioned along with Chalach, Chabor and Gozan, 2 Kings xvii. 6,) point to a more distant region.

75. קיר. Kir.

76. See *Michaelis*, Spicileg. Part II. p. 121, and Suppl. ad Lexx. p. 2191. Comp. *Wahl's Asia*, p. 766. *Rennell*, ut supra.

77. See *Busching's Magazin*, Part X. p. 420.

78. گرجستان. *Wahl*, loc. cit. p. 472. *Bochart*, (Geogr. Sac. Part I. Lib. IV. cap. 32), thinks that קיר is the *Kouçgva* of Ptolemy, a city in the interior of Media, on the river Mardus or Amardus, which runs into the Caspian Sea. Yet he adds: Nisi quis Iberiam intelligi malit et regionem ad Cyrum fluvium.

79. The Hebrew words in Gen. x. 11, מן־הארץ ההוא, יצא אשור ויבן את־נינוה, are rendered by Luther after several ancient translators: ^a "Out of that land (Shinar, *i. e.* Babylonia) then came Assur, and built Nineveh." But the correct rendering is, without doubt, the following: "Out of this land (Shinar) went he forth (*i. e.* Nimrod, who is mentioned immediately before), into Assyria and built Nineveh." It may be argued in favour of this translation:—*First*, That it would be singular to find Asshur, a son of Shem (ver. 22,) introduced into the genealogy of Ham's posterity, to

^a So our English Version: "Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh." But the margin has, "or, he went out into Assyria."—M.

which Nimrod belonged. No less singular would it be, in the *second* place, were an action of Asshur (ver. 11) mentioned previous to his birth, (ver. 22.) *Thirdly*, The circumstance of Asshur having left one country to settle in another, would scarcely have deserved notice, as this was, in fact, true of almost all the descendants of Noah. But if we understand the words as referring to Nimrod, according to the above translation, then both verses are seen to have a natural and obvious connection. "The beginning of his kingdom was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalneh, in the land of Shinar;" but he subsequently extended his empire, "and went forth from that land (Shinar) to Assyria," which he conquered, "and built Nineveh," &c. No doubt would have existed as to the correctness of this rendering, had the writer, instead of אשור, used אשוריה, with the final ה *locale*. But it is well known that the addition of the ה *locale* is often dispensed with, (see instances in *Noldius' Concordant. Particul.* p. 223, ed. Tymp.); and it is the less necessary here, as verbs signifying, "to go to a place," are construed with the corresponding nouns in the accusative. See *Gesenius' Lehrgeb. d. Heb. Sprache*, p. 685 and 808.

80. In *Diod. Sicul.* II. 1, etc.

81. See above, Chap. VIII. Notes 29 and 111.

82. According to this writer, he conquered the whole of Western Asia, Babylonia and Media; and at length his dominion extended from the Nile to the Tanais, that is, from south to north. Attacking the Bactrians with an army of nearly two millions of men, he was at first defeated, but afterwards retrieved

his losses, and laid siege to Oxyartes in Bactria, yet for a long time to no purpose. Then appeared Semiramis, daughter of the goddess Derketo,—nourished by doves, and vying with goddesses in beauty and understanding,—and showed him the way to effect the capture of the city. The king was enchanted with the heroine's beauty, and married her. After a reign of fifty-two years, he died, having been, according to Dinon, (in *Ælian. Var. Hist. VII. 1*), murdered by the queen. She succeeded him in the government, disguised, as some maintain, like her son Ninyas. She built Babylon in an incredibly short space of time, and likewise several other towns (chiefly for commerce) on the Euphrates and Tigris; she erected an obelisk on the great road of the empire, laid out an extensive park at Mount Bagistanum in Media, and caused the statue of herself, with a hundred guards, to be hewn out at the foot of the mountain, and an inscription to be engraven on the rock. (These monuments are still extant at the mountain Bisutun, between Holwan and Ecbatana.)^a She moreover caused a great lake to be dug for leading off the Euphrates, formed several spacious gardens, supplied Ecbatana with water, beautified that city, and made roads be ingeniously cut through the mountains, &c. She conquered the greatest part of Libya and Æthiopia, then made war against an Indian prince with a great army and a fleet on the Indus; but here she was defeated, and died,—according to some, in the battle—according to others, soon after.....The Semiramis mentioned by Hero-

^a See Vol. I. p. 310.—M.

dotus (I. 184), as having flourished about two hundred years before Cyrus, must have been different from this. *Volney* has attempted to ascertain the historical facts regarding Semiramis from these traditions, in his *Recherches Nouvelles sur l'Histoire Ancienne*, P. III. Ch. 8. p. 79.

83. The sources whence the facts of ancient Assyrian History must be drawn, in the absence of native historians, are the Old Testament, Herodotus, and Ctesias. It is no easy matter to reconcile the two latter with the first, or with each other. It is not likely that Ctesias had read Herodotus, or has had it in view to rectify his mistakes, for nothing of this is hinted at by Diodorus Siculus, who sometimes gives the accounts of both writers (*e. g.* II. 32), and leaves the reader to decide for himself. As these two historians, in speaking of the origin and duration of the Assyrian and Median empires,—though they both pretend to draw from authentic sources—contradict each other as grossly as if they were writing of different countries,—we have, in our sketch of the history of Assyria, been guided by the few but sure lights afforded by the Old Testament Scripture.

84. פֹּל. *Gesenius*, in his *Lexicon*, takes this to be identical with פִּיל, *an elephant*,—a name, however, which might rather be expected to designate an Indian, than an Assyrian monarch. The syllable *Pal, Pil, Pul*, which occurs in several names of Assyrian kings, is probably from the Persian, בָּלָא, *Bala*, “high, exalted,” and may have belonged to the title which those kings bore.

85. Hosea says, (ch. v. 13):

When Ephraim felt his sickness,
And Judah his wound :
Then went Ephraim to Assur,
And Judah to a king who might fight for him.

And again, ch. x. 6, in speaking of the golden calf, which was worshipped as an idol :

And this also shall be carried away to Assyria,
As a present to the king who defends Ephraim.^a

86. תגלת פלסר, תגלת פלאסר, 2 Kings xvi. 7, תגלת פלנאסר, 1 Chron. v. 6, and תגלת פלנאסר, 1 Chron. v. 26. The second word added to the original name is, according to *Lorsbach's* probable conjecture, (*Archiv. für Morgenl. Literat.* Part II. p. 247), equivalent to the Persian *بلاسر*, “great or exalted prince”—from *بالا* *high, exalted* and *سر* *chief, prince*. Of the first word, תגלת or תלגת, no plausible explanation can be given from the modern Persian. *Von Bohlen* explains the name Thiglath-pileser by *تِیْغَ لَدِ پِیْلِ اَدَسَر* : *Tiglad-pil-adser*, gladius intrepidus (est) elephas ignis, *i. e.* Dei (*Symbolæ*, p. 24). But this appears far-fetched ; besides that it cannot be shown that *آذر* or *آزر* *Fire*, though a symbol of the divinity, and the object of worship, was ever used as a name of God.

^a In both these places, our English Version has “King Jareb.” But though that be obviously incorrect, it is not so easy to discover the true interpretation.—M.

87. See above, at note 75.

88. On the identity of these names, in so far as they designate the same monarch, see *Ilgen* on Tobit i. 2, note g. *Von Bohlen* (loc. cit. p. 23,) explains the name שלמנאסר from the Persian ^{آذر} شَرمان *Scharman-azer*, verecundus erga ignem.

89. See *Menander* of Ephesus in *Josephus* Archæol. IX. 14. 2.

90. The name סרגון is explained by *Von Bohlen* (loc. cit.) from زرگون ^ش *Sergun*, gold-coloured. *Gesenius*, (Lexicon, p. 540, 2nd Edit.), conjectures سر جونه *Serdjauneh*, "Prince of the Sun."

91. סנחריב, in *Herodotus* II. 141. Σαναχάριβος, βασιλεὺς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων. Comp. *Gesenius'* Comment. on Isaiah xxxvi. 1. p. 938. He there tries to explain the name from the Persian words سن *Sen*, holy, and هرید *Herid* or هربد *Herbed*, most reverend, or a priest, i. e. "most holy priest." But in his Lexicon, (p. 536 of the second Edit.), he has adopted *Von Bohlen's* interpretation (loc. cit. p. 26), viz. from سانجرب *Sangerb*, "Splendour of the conqueror."

92. These accounts are given by *Berosus* in the Armenian Translation of Eusebius' Chronicle. See *Gesenius'* Comment. on Isaiah (p. 999, et seqq.) where it is likewise observed, that *Arrian* (Exped. of Alex. II. 5), and *Strabo* (XIV. 4, 8) ascribe the erection of the cities of Anchiale and Tarsus in Cilicia to Sardanapalus, and that there was shown there, even in the time of Alexander, a statue of that monarch in

stone, with an Assyrian inscription. The identity of Sennacherib and Sardanapalus has likewise been maintained by *Ditmar* in his Hist. of the Israelites till the time of Cyrus, p. 317. No doubt what Ctesias relates (in Diod. Sic. II. 24) about Belesis, viceroy or governor of Babylonia, stirring up, first, his friend the king of Arabia [Hezekiah], and then Arbaces the Mede against Sardanapalus, suits very well what is mentioned in the Old Testament of Mero-dach Baladan. See the last chap. note 121. But, on the other hand, the narrative of Ctesias, regarding the death of Sardanapalus and his being the last king of Assyria, does not agree with the Bible accounts of Sennacherib. Yet, perhaps, "Sardanapalus" was a royal title, common to more than one Assyrian monarch, q. d. *سَر دانا بالا* *Sar-dana-bala*, i. e. "wise, exalted prince."^a In this case, it is quite possible that Ctesias may have, by mistake, mixed up the transactions of two reigns, and thrown them into one. As to the general credit due to his accounts of Assyrian history, see note 95 below.

93. With this agrees what Moses of Chorene relates in his Armenian History (I. 22, p. 60), from an old MS. found by Mar Ibas in the library at Nineveh, and translated out of the Chaldee, viz. that the sons of Senacherim (who reigned in the time of Hezekiah), Adramel and Sanasar, after they had murdered their father, found an asylum with Skaïord, the king of Armenia. And to Sanasar was given by

^a *Winer* concurs in this opinion, Bibl. Diction. I. p. 122. Comp. *Suidas* in voc.—M.

Skaïord the district of Mount Sim, which was peopled by his posterity.

94. אסר-הדון. No plausible explanation of this name from the Persian has yet been found. In Tobit i. 21, the name is written in the Vatican MS. Σαρχεδονας, in the Alexandrian Σαρχεδων. In the "Itala" version it is Archedonassar; in the Syriac translation of Tobit, it is ܣܪܚܕܢܙܪ Sarchedonzor. In the canon of Ptolemy he is called Asaradinus. Comp. *Gesenius'* Comment. on Isaiab, p. 977, 1002. Whether "the great and famous Osnappar" [Asnapper] (אסנפר רבא ויקרא), who sent colonies out of several Assyrian provinces to Samaria, was a governor or a general of Esarhaddon, or was that king himself under a peculiar name, it is impossible to determine.

95. See Ctesias in *Diodor. Sicul.* II. 24—27. According to Moses of Chorene (loc. cit. p. 55), Paroir was the last Armenian prince who lived under the Assyrian rule. He was an auxiliary to the Mede Varbak (Arbaces) in the overthrow of Sardanapalus. Paroir was the son of Skaïord mentioned in note 93, as the cotemporary of Sennacherib. From this circumstance, the brothers Whiston, (in a note to Moses of Chorene, p. 60), draw the following just inference; Si Armeniæ imperitaverit Scaordius, quo tempore Sennacherimus, Assyriorum rex, occisus fuit, et si Paroerus, Scaordii filius, Sardanapalo regnante vixerit, annon inde sequitur, ut Esarhaddon Assyrius, qui Sennacherimo patri successit, idem sit ac Sardanapalus, Assyriorum rex postremus? Nomen ipsum *Asordan*, ut Graeci interpretes reddidere, ad *Sardanapali* similitudinem quam proxime accedit, atque in hac

sententia videtur fuisse Josephus, qui sub Ezechia rege Assyriorum imperium eversum scribit, *Antiqq.* X. 2. Several other arguments in support of the identity of Esarhaddon and Sardanapalus, have been advanced by *Kalinsky* in his *Vaticinia Chabacuci et Nachumi*, itemque nonnulla Jesajae, Micheae et Ezechielis oracula observationibus historico-philologicis ex historia Diodori Siculi circa res Sardanapali illustrata, Breslau. 1748, 4to, cap. 6, 7, 8, p. 75, et seqq. *Volney* arrives at the same conclusion by a different process, in his *Recherches Nouvelles*, Part II. p. 127, 142—145. Some recent writers have erroneously confounded Sardanapalus with Phul, and have had recourse to the notion of two Assyrian monarchies, an early and a later, the former ending with Sardanapalus. To this they have been driven by their attempts to reconcile the conflicting accounts of Herodotus and Ctesias. *Herodotus* (I. 95) fixes the duration of the Assyrian dominion in Upper Asia at 520 years. *Ctesias*, on the other hand, (in *Diod. Sic.* II. 21), assigns to the Assyrian Empire, from Ninus to Sardanapalus, thirty successive kings during a period of 1306 years, (not 1360, as in most of the editions of Diodorus. See Wesseling in loc. and Volney, p. 104, note.) To make these two statements accord, has been attempted by many chronologers and antiquaries, but hitherto without success. Very elaborate researches have been made on this point by *Fourmont*, in his *Reflexions critiques sur les histoires des anciens peuples*, Tom. II. p. 301, et seqq. He passes in review the earlier inquiries of Pezron, Sevin, and Freret; but, in endeavouring to reconcile

the great discrepancies of the two historians, he has had recourse to hypotheses as fanciful and precarious as those of his predecessors. *Volney* (loc. cit. p. 191, note), has proved that the accounts of Herodotus are alone worthy of credit, and with great acuteness has rendered it probable, that Ctesias has intentionally and systematically doubled the number of Assyrian kings, and the years of their government, for the purpose of favouring certain political views of the Persian king, at whose court he lived.

96. Yet there seems to have been, still later, under Esarhaddon, an Assyrian inroad into Judæa, in which, according to 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, the Jewish king Manasseh was carried captive. See *Ditmar*, loc. cit. p. 337. No notice is taken of this incident in the book of Kings; and in the passage of Chronicles, the name of the Assyrian monarch is not mentioned.

97. *Zend-Avesta* by *Kleuker*, Appendix, Book I. Part I. p. 36, note.

CHAPTER X.

MESOPOTAMIA.

THE name of *Mesopotamia*, *i. e.* “the land between the rivers,” was commonly given by the Greeks, and after them by the Romans, to that extensive tract of country, which lies between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, from their sources to the neighbourhood of Babylon.¹ It is situated between the thirty-third and thirty-eighth degrees of north latitude, the length being about ninety German miles [upwards of 400 English], and the breadth very irregular, but generally much less. The Greeks, no doubt, formed the name *Mesopotamia*, after the analogy of the Syriac *Beth-Nahrin*;² and this must have happened in the time of Seleucus, or his successors, who reigned over this country, and founded towns in it,—for the name does not occur either in Herodotus or Xenophon. Arrian³ calls it “Assyria between the Euphrates and Tigris.” It was called by the Hebrews *Aram-Naharaim*,⁴ *i. e.* “Aram, or Syria of the two rivers,” and *Paddan-Aram*,⁵ *i. e.* the Plain of Syria; also the Field of Syria.⁶ The common Arabic name at

the present day is, *El-Jezirah*,⁷ *i. e.* the Island or Peninsula.

According to the limits assigned by Abulfeda,⁸ Mesopotamia is bounded on the west by Armenia, Asia Minor, and Syria, especially the Syrian Desert; on the south by the Desert of Arabia and by Babylonia, or Arabian Irak; on the east by Kurdistan; and on the north by Great Armenia. Mesopotamia forms at present a part of the Turkish Empire, and comprises the governments (Eyalet),⁹ of Rakka, Diarbekr, Mosul, and a part of the government of Bagdad.¹⁰

According to the observation of Olivier,¹¹ who travelled through a part of the country, Mesopotamia may be divided into four regions, which differ materially in regard to the elevation, quality and productions of the soil, as well as the temperature of the air. The *first* or most northerly region, reaches from the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris, about lat. 39° N. to lat. 37° 20', including the town of Semisat, on the Euphrates, Soeverek at the foot of Mount Taurus, Merdin at Mount Masius, and Jezire on the Tigris. This region formerly belonged to Great Armenia, and was called Sophene. The only considerable city which is at present reckoned to belong to it is Diarbekr, the seat of a pacha of the first rank. This part of Mesopotamia is elevated, mountainous, very fruitful, and rich in water-springs. The winter is cold, and from

October to April there is much snow and rain ; but it is only the tops of the highest hills that are covered with snow during the whole year. The summer is dry, very pleasant on the higher grounds, hot and sultry in the plains and vallies. The pastures are excellent ; corn and fruits are produced in abundance. The vine and mulberry-tree are also cultivated. The exports consist of silk, gall-nuts, gum-tragacanth, goats'-hair, wool, honey, wax, and a little cotton. The hills are for the most part covered with forests of oak, fir, pine, maple, ash, chestnut, and terebinth. Oil is obtained from the *sesamus* and the seed of the *ricinus*. There are several copper-mines, which are almost as rich as those of Erzeroum and Trebisonde. At Keban and Argana there are mines of silver, lead, and even gold, the produce of which is sent to Constantinople. Many extinct volcanoes are to be seen in the district. The towns and villages of this first region are inhabited by Turks, Kurds, and Armenians, who pursue agriculture and trade, labour in the mines, and manufacture leather, woollen and cotton stuffs, and copper vessels. The Kurds, however, are mostly shepherds. Their villages are almost wholly abandoned during a great part of the year—the inhabitants moving down in the winter with their wives, children and flocks, to the more temperate parts of Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, where they are sure of finding pastures in abun-

dance; while in summer they betake themselves to the mountains of Armenia, Azerbijan and Persia, where the melting of the snows, and the coldness of the climate, preserve the verdure fresh during the hottest seasons.

The *second* region extends from lat. $37^{\circ} 20'$ to 35° N.—Within its compass lie the towns of Birth, Orfa, Ras-el-Ain, Nisibis, Mosul,—the mountains of Sanjar,^a and the district of Ras-el-Ain. The rivers Khabur and Alhauili traverse it as far as the district of Kerkesieh. This was the Mesopotamia Proper of the ancients, which was divided into two provinces, Osrhoene on the west, and Mygdonia on the east. This part of Mesopotamia lies a little lower than the former, and is almost entirely level, with the exception of the mountains of Sanjar, which are nearly isolated, and the districts around Orfa and Ras-el-Ain, where there are a few small ir-

^a Commonly written Sinjar, and by some supposed to be the Shinar of scripture. See Chap. VIII. note 4. It is the country of the Yezids, or devil-worshippers, and is called by the Koords, Zingharra. *Rich*, in his work on Koordistan, after remarking that the inhabitants of Baasheka, a village near Mosul, are partly composed of Yezids, who call themselves Dassini, adds, in a note: "Dasin is another name for Sinjaar, and all the Yezids called Dassinis seem to have been originally from Sinjaar. The others, though possessing the same faith, are never called Dassinis." *Rich's* Koordistan, Vol. II. p. 68, 86. Yet at p. 121 it is said the Dassinis are the Yezids about Mosul, and that the Sinjarlis are never so called.—M.

regularly formed hills. Between Birth and Mosul are to be seen the remains of many extinct volcanoes; and Mount Sanjar also appears to belong to that class. This region is far more fertile and rich in natural productions than the first, but much less cultivated. The climate is very mild in winter; it seldom freezes, and only in those parts which are contiguous to the former region. The heat is very great in summer, and continues till the middle of harvest. Towards the end of winter, and at the beginning of spring, much rain falls, but considerably less in harvest. The summer is very dry. If this region received more moisture, either from rain or by means of artificial irrigation, it would be inferior to no country in the abundance and variety of its products. When the spring-rains are tolerably copious, the barley and wheat reach a great height, and yield thirty and forty-fold. The pastures are extremely rich, and the flocks very numerous. The inhabitants raise all kinds of corn and pulse, some rice, and a great deal of sesam and cotton. The vine, the olive, and the mulberry, thrive uncommonly well, but they are found in small quantity. Many bees are reared, and yield excellent honey. Of oranges, lemons, and all the finer kinds of fruit, there is here the greatest abundance. Under a government that would favour agriculture and industry, and guarantee to the inhabitants security of property

and person, this part of Mesopotamia would soon become populous and affluent; for nowhere is the air more salubrious, or the soil more fruitful. But as the country is exposed to the predatory incursions of the Kurds on the one side, and of the Arabs on the other, it has become, in many parts, altogether depopulated; for the inhabitants being unable, from their small numbers, to resist these aggressions, have abandoned their fields and flocks, and have sought elsewhere the repose which they were unable to find in their native home.

The *third* region extends to the latitude of $33^{\circ} 40'$ N.—that is, to several miles north of Bagdad. The ancients reckoned it as belonging to Arabia, doubtless on account of the nature of the soil, which is the same here as in the north-west of Arabia. This part of Mesopotamia is quite flat, but unsusceptible of cultivation, except in the low grounds watered by the Euphrates and Tigris, the inundations of which leave a rich deposit of soil. Throughout this extensive desert, the colour of the ground is of a whitish grey, and it is generally impregnated with selenites, and even sea-salt. Gypsum is found to the depth of one or two feet. Bitumen is no less abundant, and is in many places seen flowing on the surface. During winter, there is very little frost, and it seldom rains; the summer is very dry, and excessively hot; yet there

are a great many plants and shrubs which retain their verdure and freshness unimpaired. The palm-trees on the river-banks early yield their fruit. Xenophon, when accompanying the expedition of the Younger Cyrus, saw here the wild ass and ostrich;—a proof that this part of Mesopotamia was then as thinly inhabited as it is now. Ostriches are still found in abundance, but the wild ass is rarely met with, having retired into the mountainous and unfrequented parts of Persia, and perhaps into the interior of Arabia. The population of this part of Mesopotamia is confined to a few villages on the Tigris, and to certain Arab tribes, whose numbers are inconsiderable, and who traverse these plains in winter, in quest of pastures for their flocks, while in summer they draw towards the rivers, or the high countries of the second region. On the left bank of the Euphrates there is no human habitation beyond Kerkesieh, and on the right bank there is only Hit and Anath.

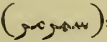
The *fourth* and last region commences at seven or eight leagues north-east of Bagdad, and a few leagues below Hit, and extends to the junction of the two rivers, about Lat. $30^{\circ} 50'$. It consists of land that is periodically overflowed, being a perfect flat, and, when it has been sufficiently watered, becomes extremely fruitful. This part of Mesopotamia, which properly be-

longs to ancient Babylonia, has, with respect to the temperature of the air, the quality of the soil, and the abundance of the produce, a strong resemblance to the Delta of the Nile. But the fields, before they can be made to yield a return, must be copiously watered, yet at the same time protected against sudden inundations, which are here very destructive from their impetuosity. Hence, the early inhabitants of the country made provision against this, by the construction of canals and dams, the remains of which are still in existence, and which admirably served the purposes at once of irrigation and defence.

From the middle of June till about the 21st of September, there occurs through the centre and south of Mesopotamia the hot and suffocating south-wind, called the Samūm,¹² *i. e. the poisonous*, by which the most luxuriant vegetation is speedily burnt up. Not unfrequently it brings from the interior of Arabia and the south of Persia, clouds of locusts, which prove as destructive to these countries, as is in Europe the intensest frost.¹³ They darken the sky in their dull and uniform flight, and the noise which they make is like that of a heavy shower of rain. In an instant, the terraced roofs of the houses, the roads and fields, are covered with these insects, and in the space of two days they will destroy the entire foliage. Fortunately,

their existence is of short duration, and they have in their train the *Samarmar*,^a or *Samarmog* (the *Turdus Roseus* of Linnæus), a bird of passage, which resorts in the winter to Hindostan and Africa, but during summer is found throughout Persia, Mesopotamia, and almost all Asia Minor. It appears to follow the locusts in their flight, not merely for the purpose of feeding upon them, but of destroying them; for it kills many more than it devours, and is the enemy of almost all insects. Hence, throughout the countries of the east, this bird is held in a kind of veneration, and a Mussulman will allow no one to kill or injure it. In the marshy swamps which line the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, lions find a covert; but they attain neither the majestic size nor the strength and daring of the lion of Africa. They generally prey upon the weaker animals that repair to the rivers to quench their thirst, and do not even venture to attack the wild boars, which are there very common.

Besides the Euphrates and Tigris which traverse Mesopotamia,^b the Bible mentions no other river of that country, except the Chaboras,

^a “The natural enemy of the locust is the bird Semermar () which is of the size of a swallow, and devours vast numbers of them; it is even said that the locusts take flight at the cry of that bird.” *Burckhardt's Syria*, p. 239.—M.

^b See Vol. I. p. 57, 59.

in Hebrew the Chebar or Khebar,¹⁴ upon the banks of which Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, planted a colony of Jews, among whom was Ezekiel the prophet. (Ezek. i. 1, 3; iii. 15, 23; x. 15, 22, comp. 2 Kings xxiv. 15.) This large and navigable river, which is to be distinguished from the Assyrian *Chaboras*, (in Hebrew Chabor),¹⁵ rises in the Masian Mountains [Mons Masius], in the neighbourhood of Ras-el-Ain. Its various springs (called the Springs of Sahirye) form two rivulets, which afterwards unite into one stream, that runs into the Euphrates at Kerkissia. Pliny¹⁶ says, the water of this river, near its source, is remarkable for its pleasant flavour. Ammianus¹⁷ describes its banks as fertile and flourishing. Before it reaches Maakesie, it receives the river of Sinjar,¹⁸ the Mygdonius or Masius of the ancients, the Hermas of the east. In the last part of its course, when it flows westward towards the Euphrates, falling into that river at Kerkissia, it separates the southern part of Mesopotamia (or the Desert) from the northern. Procopius¹⁹ calls it a great river, and Julian was obliged to cross it with his army on a bridge of boats.²⁰

Towards the north, Mesopotamia is divided from Armenia by the southern branch of Mount Taurus. This range was called by the Hebrews Mash²¹ (Gen. x. 23), by the Greeks and Romans Mons Masius, and it now bears the name

of Mount Judi.^a It rises from the Euphrates above Samosata, runs for a great way due east, then turns to the south-east towards Nisibis, and gradually diminishing in height, reaches the Tigris, on the opposite bank of which it meets the far higher Gordiæan chain. A ramification of this Masian range runs on the east side of Mesopotamia farther south, and forms, not far from the Tigris, a mountain of no great extent, but of considerable elevation, which Ptolemy calls Singaras, a name preserved in "Sinjar," the designation which it still bears.

The north-eastern portion of Mesopotamia was called, by the Greeks and Romans, Mygdonia,²³ from the river Mygdonius, which issues from Mons Masius, and by which the district is

^a It is the mountain referred to in the Appendix to Vol. I. p. 294, and believed by some to be the Ararat of Scripture. "The Mahometans universally maintain, that it was on Mount Judi the ark first rested, and that *it* is Ararat, and not the mountain to which that name is given in Armenia. Hussein Aga maintained to me, that he has, with his own eyes, seen the remains of Noah's ark! He went to a Christian village, whence he ascended by a steep road of an hour to the summit, on which he saw the remains of a very large vessel of wood, almost entirely rotted, with nails of a foot long still remaining." In the third volume of Assemani, p. 214, occurs the following: "There is a monastery on the summit of Mount Cardu or Ararat. St. Epiphanius asserts, that in his time remains of the ark still existed, and speaks of relics of Noah's ark being found in 'Cardiærum Regiones.'" *Rich's Koor-distan*, II. p. 124, note. Comp. the Extracts from Berosus, given by *Josephus*.—M.

traversed. The capital was *Nisibis*, with which the Romans first became acquainted in the war of Lucullus against Armenia, and found to be a large, populous city, lying in a fertile country.²⁴ Lucullus took it and gave it at the peace to the Armenian prince Tigranes. But the Parthians soon after became masters of this country, and continued so till the time of Trajan, by whom Nisibis was retaken. Having been then strongly fortified by the Romans, it remained for two hundred years a bulwark of the Roman empire against the Persians, who, however, got possession of it after the death of Julian, and retained it until the overthrow of their empire by the Arabs. The place is still known by the name of Nisibin,²⁵ but is at present nothing more than a village of about a thousand inhabitants, dwelling in a hundred-and-fifty low and ill-built houses. It belongs to the pachalik of Bagdad; the commander (Musellim) is a Begh, who receives his tail from the Woiwode of Merdin. Among the inhabitants are found Armenians, Nestorians, and also some Jacobite Christians;²⁶ for in the middle age, Nisibin was the see of a Jacobite bishop and a Nestorian metropolitan. This city is often mentioned by Syrian writers under the name of Zoba and Zaubo;²⁷ whence J. D. Michælis conjectured, that in the country of Nisibin²⁸ was the Zoba or Aram-Zoba, with whose kings the Jewish monarchs, David and Solomon

waged war, 1 Sam. xiv. 47. 2 Sam. viii. 3, 5; x. 6, et seqq. 1 Chron. xviii. 3, 9, and Ps. lx. 2. This opinion has been very generally embraced. If it were correctly founded, it would appear that the kings of Aram-Zoba or Nisibis, had extended, by conquest, their dominion to the west bank of the Euphrates as far as Syria,—in which case their coming into collision with the Hebrews would be by no means improbable. But in the title of the sixtieth Psalm (ver. 2), it is said to have been composed when David was at war with Aram-Naharaim and Aram-Zoba. Now Nisibis lay in Mesopotamia or Aram-Naharaim, and the district formed part of that region; so that it could not well be described as different from it. Besides, in 1 Sam. xiv. 47, Zoba occurs in the midst of an enumeration of several border tribes, the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, and Philistines, with whom Saul carried on war. These circumstances combined, render the ancient opinion the more probable, namely, that Aram-Zoba was a territory or small state in Coele-Syria.²⁹

About ninety miles from Nisibin, in nearly a right line to the west, and towards the Euphrates, lies *Orfa* or *Urfa*, formerly *Edessa*, also called *Kallirhoe*, i. e. *the fine flowing*, from several remarkable fountains in the neighbourhood. From “*Kallirhoe*” was probably formed “*Er-Roha*,” the name given to this place by Arabic writers,

and from that came the modern name Orfa.³⁰ The Macedonians called it Antiochia,³¹ but the more ancient designation prevailed in after ages. That Orfa was originally the city Erech or Arach, founded by Nimrod (Gen. x. 10), is, as we before remarked (at p. 27), a tradition void of probability. The ancient and still important city of Orfa, contains a population of from thirty to forty thousand; it lies on the declivity of two hills, and is surrounded with a decayed wall. The houses are, upon the whole, better built than is customary in eastern cities, and the streets too are neater, and are kept comparatively cleaner, by means of water-courses of from two to three feet broad. The Mahomedan inhabitants, including Arabs, Kurds and Turks, make up three-fourths of the population. The remainder consists of Jews and Armenians, the latter of whom, though severely oppressed, are very rich, as they have got almost the entire trade into their hands. They have here a church, over which an archbishop presides. Orfa is not only a considerable staple-town, but exports wheat, barley and pulse, the produce of the neighbouring district, and also jewellery, cotton-stuffs, and fine leather, which are manufactured in the town. There are here few vineyards. The Jews and Armenians prepare for domestic use, wine both red and white, which would be very good, if the vessels in which it is

kept did not impart to it a resinous flavour, which is very disagreeable to strangers. The access to the castle, which stands on the top of an eminence, is by a precipitous road, in some places hewn out of the rock. Among other ruins in the interior of the fortress, there is one near the wall next the city, of an oblong square construction, and having on each side a thick Corinthian pillar. It appears to have been a mausoleum, erected in the age of the Seleucidæ.³² In the time of our Saviour, Edessa was the capital of a territory Osrhoene, which had its own princes or kings. From the year B. C. 137, to A. D. 216, this small state was successively ruled by eight-and-twenty kings, who all bore the title of Abgar, a name which was formed from the Parthian word *Avaghair*, *i. e.* most excellent or distinguished.³³ According to an early tradition, one of them, who was a cotemporary of Christ,³⁴ sent a letter to our Lord, beseeching him to heal him of leprosy. The pretended epistle of Abgarus, along with Christ's reply, has been given by Eusebius, in his Church History,³⁵ but criticism has justly rejected both as spurious.³⁶

The following places in Mesopotamia are mentioned in the Bible :

1. *Ur-Casdim*,³⁷ *i. e.* Ur of the Chaldees, the birth-place of Abraham (Gen. xi. 27, 28), but which his father Terah left, along with his fa-

mily, for the purpose of migrating to Canaan (ver. 31.) Ammianus Marcellinus,³⁸ who was on the disastrous expedition of the Emperor Julian against Persia (in the fourth century of our era), mentions the castle of Ur, as lying in the north-eastern desert of Mesopotamia, between the river Tigris and Nisibis. In the same district of country where lay the Ur of Ammianus, Xenophon³⁹ had found, at the foot of the Gordiæan (*i. e.* Kurdish) Mountains, a people called Chaldæans—so that to this the Hebrew name Ur-Casdim, “Ur in the land of the Chaldæans,” completely corresponds.⁴⁰ Ammianus describes the country as a desolate wilderness, where there was a scarcity of all the necessaries of life, and which was fit only for the occasional resort of nomadic shepherds. The neighbouring mountains have been from time immemorial the abode of robbers.

2. *Charan*,⁴¹ or, as Luther writes it, *Harar*,^a where Terah died on his way to Canaan, Gen. xi. 31. There is no doubt as to the site of this place, for it has retained its name unchanged through all succeeding ages. Abulfeda⁴² speaks of Charran,⁴³ as formerly a great city, which lay in an arid and bare tract of country, in the province of Diar-Modhar, that is in the north-

^a So our English Translators; except in Acts vii. 2, where, following the Greek, they correctly write “Charran.”—M.

west part of Mesopotamia, bordering on the Euphrates. The Sabians or star-worshippers had there a chapel, which was named after Abraham. Among the towns which had been taken by the predecessors of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, Charran is enumerated. 1 Kings xix. 12. Isa. xxxvii. 12. It is also mentioned by Ezekiel (ch. xxvii. 23), among the places which traded with Tyre.⁴⁴ And indeed its situation was favourable for commerce, inasmuch as here the great road which led from the Euphrates to the countries of the east,⁴⁵ branched off in directions; the one running eastward to Nisibis and Assyria, and the other southward into Babylonia. The Greeks and Romans called this city Carrae.⁴⁶ When Crassus was defeated in his first engagement with the Parthians, he fled to this place, but, attempting during night to make his way through the northern mountains to Armenia, he met his death at Sinnaka.⁴⁷ When Niebuhr⁴⁸ was passing through Orfa in the year 1766, he heard that Carran was a small place, two days' journey south south-east of Orfa, and very much frequented by Jews. [Rennell fixes its long. at 39° 2' 45" E. and its latitude at 36° 40' N. The Spanish Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled in the twelfth century, appears to have found it then altogether decayed. The ruins of a castle are still seen;—but, indeed, the lawless

manners of the Bedouins in that quarter have deterred most recent travellers from visiting Charran. ^a]

3. *Thel-Abib*, ⁴⁹ a place on the river Chaboras, where was a colony of the expatriated Jews, and whither the prophet Ezekiel repaired: (ch. iii. 15). Little or nothing is known respecting it. On D'Anville's map of the Euphrates and Tigris, there is a place named Thallaba or Thalanban, situated on the Chaboras, in the upper part of its course. The name has a resemblance to the Hebrew word; and as the site likewise corresponds, it is not improbable that these names designate the same place.

4. *Karkemish*, ⁵⁰ [*Carchemish*] is mentioned in Isaiah x. 9, among other places in Syria and Mesopotamia, which had been subdued by an Assyrian monarch—probably by Tiglath-pileser. That Carchemish was a stronghold on the Euphrates, appears from the title of a prophecy of Jeremiah against Egypt, (ch. xlv. 2.): “Against the army of Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, which lay on the river Euphrates, at Carchemish, and which Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon overthrew, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, king of Judah.” According to 2 Chron. xxxv. 29, Necho had, five years before, advanced with his ally Josiah, the

^a See *Kinneir's* Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire; and *Buckingham's* Travels in Mesopotamia.—M.

father of Jehoiakim, against the Babylonians, on the Euphrates, to take Carchemish. These two circumstances, viz. that Carchemish was on the Euphrates, and that it was a fortified town, render it probable that the Hebrew name points to a city which the Greeks and Romans called Kirkesion or Cercusium, and the Arabs Kerkesiyeh; ⁵¹ for it too, lay on the west bank of the Euphrates, where it is joined by the Chaboras. It was a large city, and surrounded with strong walls, which, in the time of the Romans, were occasionally renewed, as this was the remotest out-post of their empire, towards the Euphrates, in the direction of Persia. ⁵² It is unknown whether or not any traces of it still exist; for, as it lies off the usual route of caravans, modern travellers have taken no notice of it.

5. *Hena*, ⁵³ is mentioned in 1 Kings xix. 12, and Isa. xxxvii. 12, among the Syrian and Mesopotamian cities, that had been taken by the ancestors of Sennacherib. According to the probable conjecture of Büsching, ⁵⁴ it is the town which is still called by the Arabs *Anah*. ⁵⁵ It lies on both sides of the Euphrates, amid gardens, which are rich in dates, citrons, oranges, pomegranates, and other fruits. In the Euphrates, which runs through the town, there are several small islands, upon one of which stands a castle. ⁵⁶ Perhaps, in ancient times, the city lay, for the most part, or entirely, upon this island, for Abul-

fedā says, that “ Anah is a small town on an island in the middle of the Euphrates.” The inhabitants are chiefly Arabs and Jews. It would appear that this place has been, from time to time, the seat of an Arabian Emir, the head of a powerful tribe. There lies, to the north of Anah, along the Euphrates, as far as the place called *Balis*, a country covered with mulberry trees; narrow pathways lead to cottages which are concealed in the thicket of the wood. It is here where a tribe of peaceable Arabs, the Beni-Semen, rear silk-worms, the produce of which they export. This country, which is little known to European travellers, is called Zombuk. The caravans which carry merchandise between Aleppo and Bagdad, commonly pass by Anah. They pay a tribute to the Arabs, who consider themselves as lords of the desert, even beyond the Euphrates.

6. *Sepharvaim*⁵⁷ was one of the places from which Salmanassar, king of Assyria, sent a colony into the kingdom of Israel, which he had depopulated, 2 Kings xvii. 24, comp. with ch. xviii. 34. Isa. xxxvi. 19. That Sepharvaim was a small state, under a king of its own, appears from 2 Kings xix. 13. Isa. xxxvii. 13. We include this district in Mesopotamia, because, in the passages quoted, it is mentioned along with other places of this province, and because Ptolemy⁵⁸ speaks of a town of a similar name.

“Sippbara,” as the southernmost city of Mesopotamia. Below it, he adds, the Euphrates divides itself into two branches, the eastern going to Seleucia and the western to Babylon. It is very probable, that Ptolemy’s Sippbara is the city of the Sippareni mentioned by Abydenus,⁵⁹ for which, as he relates, Nebuchadnezzar caused a lake to be dug, in order to lead into it the water of the Euphrates.

7. *Thelassar*,⁶⁰ spoken of in 2 Kings xix. 12. Isaiah xxxvii. 12, as the place where the children of Eden dwelt, is also to be sought for in Mesopotamia. Eden, as we shall afterwards see, was a district of Syria. Out of that region a great part of the population had been carried by the Assyrian conquerors to Thelassar, just as they transported a large part of the population of the kingdom of Israel or Samaria to the eastern districts of their empire. But no trace of Thelassar is found either in the ancient Greek and Roman, or in later Oriental writers. Hence nothing certain can be fixed respecting its locality.⁶¹ It is also uncertain, whether the kingdom or territory of *Elassar*, whose king Arioch is mentioned in Gen. xiv. 1, along with the king of Shinar, as a confederate of the king of Elam, was the same with or different from Thelassar.⁶² At the commencement of the book of Judith (ch. i. 6) it is said, according to Luther’s translation, that “Nebuchadnezzar defeated Ar-

phaxad, king of Media, in the great field called Ragau, which formerly belonged to Arioch, king of Elassar." In that case, Elassar would have been a part of Media, including the district of Rai or Rages. But the name Elassar is found neither in the Greek text nor in the old Latin translation. The former has "Erioch, king of the Elymæi,"⁶³ and the latter "Erioch, king of the Elici."⁶⁴ Luther took the name of the king for that Arioch who is spoken of in Gen. xiv. 1, and called king of Elassar. But even if his translation were correct, the romantic book of Judith is of little or no authority.^a

The earliest inhabitants of Mesopotamia were either original Chaldæans, or a race related to them, from whom Terah, Abraham's father, separated himself with his family, in order to emigrate into the land of Canaan (Gen. xi. 26). Strabo says,⁶⁵ that the population of Mesopotamia was composed of Armenians, Syrians, and Arabians. The two former possessed the northern and middle, and the last the southern part of this region. With respect to their modes of life, the inhabitants were always divided into two great classes, namely, those who, being domiciled in one spot, applied themselves to the culture of the ground, and nomadic shepherd tribes.

^a The Eng. version has "Arioch, king of the Elimeans."—M.

Of the more ancient history of Mesopotamia, nothing is known till the time when the Assyrian monarchs extended their conquests towards the west. About thirteen or fourteen centuries before the commencement of our era, mention is made of a king of Mesopotamia, called Cushan-Rishathaim (Judges iii. 8, 10), who, crossing the Euphrates, invaded and subdued the land of Canaan, and maintained his dominion over the Hebrews, for the space of eight years. It is uncertain, however, whether Cushan Rishathaim was actual ruler over the whole of Mesopotamia, or whether there were not there several smaller states, who only acknowledged him as their lord paramount. That Mesopotamia was divided into various distinct territories, under princes of their own, may be gathered from the mention of the kings of Hena and Sepharvaim (2 Kings xix. 12. Isaiah xxxvii. 12,⁶⁶) whom the king of Assyria boasted of having subjugated. Ever after Mesopotamia became an Assyrian province, it formed part of the great monarchies which successively arose in Upper Asia, the Babylonian, Persian, and Macedonian. The Syrian kings of Macedonian descent, founded several cities in Mesopotamia; and, perhaps, under them, the country was more tranquil and flourishing than either before or after. But when frequent commotions began to break out in this

part of Asia, and the Parthians made themselves masters of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom, as far as the Euphrates, this province became exposed to a series of warlike devastations, which continued for ages. At one period, Tigranes, king of Armenia, took possession of the districts adjoining that country, while the Arabs subdued several districts in the south. The Romans also under Lucullus and Pompey began to disturb Mesopotamia, and, somewhat later, Crassus was there defeated and slain. Trajan wrested the whole province, with several adjacent territories, from the Parthians; and although Hadrian had to relinquish these conquests, Lucius Verus and Severus again subdued Mesopotamia, and it remained a Roman province until the end of the fourth century. On the death of Julian, Jovian found himself obliged to abandon the greater part of the country to the Persians, the Romans only retaining so much of Western Mesopotamia, as was inclosed by the rivers Chaboras and Euphrates, and on the north by the Mons Masius. When the Sassanian dynasty in Persia was overthrown by the Arabs, towards the middle of the seventh century, Mesopotamia came under the dominion of the caliphs. Since the year 1516, it has formed an integral part of the Ottoman Empire.

1. Babylon itself is not reckoned to belong to Mesopotamia by any ancient writer. Indeed, the notions that were entertained of the extent of this country were very fluctuating, and its limits cannot be defined with any precision. The name Mesopotamia was unknown to Xenophon and to all writers previous to the time of Alexander. The northern part was ranked with Syria, while the southern was reckoned to belong to Arabia, inasmuch as it was only separated from the rest of Arabia by the Euphrates, and was, moreover, inhabited by Arabs. See *Mannert's* Geography of the Greeks and Romans. Part V. Div. 2, p. 257, 313.

2. מֶסוֹפּוֹטָמִיָּה, see *Assemani's* Bibl. Orient. Tom. I. p. 462, and the Peschito Version of Acts ii. 9; vii. 2. That "Mesopotamia" was a translation of the native name of the country, is mentioned by *Arrian* in his Exped. Alex. VII. 7. See the following note.

3. Loc. cit. τῶν γὰρ δὴ ποταμῶν τοῦ τε Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος, οἱ τῇ νύκτι μέσσην σφῶν Ἀσσυρίαν ἀπείργουσιν, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Μεσοποταμία πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων κλητίζεται, κ. τ. λ..

4. אֶרֶם נְהָרִים Gen. xxiv. 10.

5. פֶּרֶן אֶרֶם. On the proper signification of the word פֶּרֶן see the author's Scholia (Vol. I. Part I. p. 414), at Gen. xxv. 20.^a *Jos. von Hammer*, in his Constitution of the Ottoman Empire, Part I. p. 220, says, "the acre, which, in Turkish, is called *Tschift*, is, in Syria, as in Egypt, called *Feddan*. There are,

^a The Scholium in question is chiefly an abstract of the opinion of *Michaelis* (in his Spicil. Geogr. Hebr. Ext. Part II. p. 119), comparing פֶּרֶן, with the cognate Arabic فدان. —M.

however, three kinds of Feddan, viz. the Roman, the Islamitish, and that of agriculture or the earth.—

The Feddani Hirass [فَدَّانِ حَرَاث] is as much land as a pair of oxen usually plough from morning to noon; it is likewise called Feddani Ers, [فَدَّانِ اَرْض] Comp. *Cellarii* Notit. Orb. antiq. Tom. II. Lib. III. Cap. 15, § 1.

6. שדה ארם, Hos. xii. 13; the Campi Mesopotamiæ of *Curtius*, Book III. Cap. 2, § 3; Cap. 8, § 1.

7. الجزيرة بين دجلة or more fully الجزيرة بين دجلة والفرات. “The Island between the Tigris and Euphrates.” See *Abulfeda's* Description of Mesopotamia, edited in Arabic, from the Dresden MS., by Rosenmüller, in *Paulus' New Repertory for Biblical and Oriental Literature*. Part III. p. 4.

8. See the foregoing note.

9. ^{سـ}اِيَالَة, Praefectura, regimen, administratio, *Gol.* Lexic. Arab. p. 201.

10. See *Von Hammer's* Constit. of the Ottoman Empire. Part II. p. 263, et sqq. On the division of Mesopotamia in Ptolemy and other ancient writers, see *Cellarius* Notit. Orb. Ant. Tom. II. Lib. III. Cap. 15, § 2, et sqq. and *Mannert's* Geogr. of the Greeks and Romans. Part V. Div. 2, p. 250. On its division by the Arabs, according to *Abulfeda* see *Wahl's* Asia, p. 620.

11. Voyages. Tom. IV. p. 372, et sqq.

12. ^{سوم}سموم. See more particulars as to this wind, in *Rosenmüller's Alte und Neue Morgenland*. Part II. No. 355, p. 235. The most recent and exact description will be found in the *Voyage à Palmyre ou Tedmor dans le désert, avec une courte recherche sur le vent du désert, nommé Samieli, par le Comte W. S. R.*, in the *Fundgruben des Orients*. Vol. VI. p. 393.^a

13. See *Rosenmüller's Morgenland*, Book IV. No. 1095, 1096, p. 370; and Book III. p. 289. Also *Olivier*, loc. cit. p. 388.

14. כבב. It is called by *Ptolemy* ὁ Χαβώρας by *Strabo* and other Greeks, Ἀββόζγας, also Ἀβώρας and the same in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, XIV. 4; XXIII. 5. See *Cellarius*, Notit. Orb. Antiq. Tom. II. Lib. III. Cap. 15, § 11. *Mannert* loc. cit. p. 268.

15. That there are two rivers of the name of Chaboras, is expressly said by *Yakuti* in his Geographical Dictionary, from which *A. Schultens*, in the Index Geographic. ad Vit. Saladini makes the following quotation: "El-Khabur (الخابور), the name of a large river, which rises near Ras-el-Ain, and flows into the Euphrates, in the country of Al-Jezirah. Its

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^a *Samūm* is the Arabic name from سم samm, "poison." The

Turkish name is سم يلي Samieli, from the Arabic samm, and the Turkish gel, "wind," with the affixed possessive pronoun of the third person. In Arabic it is also called حرور Hharūr, i. e. the hot.—M.

course is of considerable length, and it runs past the cities of Araban, Markesie, and Kerkisia. There is also another river, El-Khabur, called the Hhasenitic Khabur (الخباور الحسنية), in the district of Mosul, to the east of the Tigris."

16. *Hist. Nat.* L. XXXI. cap. 3, § 22. Unus in toto orbe traditur fons aquae jucunde olentis in Mesopotamia, Chabura.

17. L. XIV. cap. 3. Hanc regionem — — invadere parans dux, per solitudines Aboraeque amnis herbidas ripas, etc.

18. Concerning this country, see above, in chap. VIII. note 4.

19. Pers. L. II. cap. 5. Ἀβόρρος ποταμὸς μέγας.

20. *Ammianus* L. XXIII. cap. 5. Julianus vero, dum moratur apud Cercusium, ut per navalem Aborae pontem exercitus et omnes sequelae transirent, etc.

21. כח.

22. See *Wahl's Asia*, p. 817. Comp. *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 267.

23. See *Cellarius* loc. cit. Tom. II. Lib. III. cap. 15, § 2.

24. See *Cellarius*, loc. cit. § 35. *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 295.

25. نصيبين. See *Schulten's Index Geograph.* ad Vit. Saladin, under the article "Nisibis." The word denotes in Chaldee (נציבין), and Syriac (نصيبين), Military Posts.^a

^a The following is Lieut. *Heude's* notice of Nisibin, in his *Journey Overland from India to England*, in 1817 (p. 223): "Nisibin presents the miserable remains of a town, formerly of

26. See *Rauwolf's* Travels, p. 259. *Ives' Journey*, Part II. *Niebuhr's Travels*, Part II. p. 379. *Olivier Voyages*, Tom. IV. p. 247, et seqq.

27. ܡܕܝܢܐ. See *Assemani's* Biblioth. Orient. Tom. III. Part II. p. DCCLXVII.

28. *J. D. Michaelis* Commentat. de Syria Sobaea, in the Commentatt. Societati Regiae Scientiar. Goettingensi per annos 1763—1768, oblatis (Brem. 1769), p. 57, et seqq.

29. See *Hyde's* Annotat. to Peritsol's Travels,^a cap. 8, note 5, [or] in his Syntagma Dissertatt. ed. Sharpe. Vol. I. p. 71 [Oxon.], 1767, and *Goliush* on Al-Fargani, p. 275.

30. See above, chap. VIII. notes 64 and 68. Comp. *Reiske's* note to his Latin translation of Abulfeda's Mesopotamia, in Busching's Magazine, Part IV. p. 239.

31. See *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 278.

32. See *Tavernier's Travels*. Book II. chap. 4.

some extent, and which occupied a considerable space along the banks of the Mygdonius; a small but rapid stream, that defended the position to the north, whilst the south was equally protected by a swamp. The greater part of the houses are in ruins, and the post-house is execrably dirty; the remains of an aqueduct, however, with other traces, sufficiently point out the great importance it once enjoyed. In the town is a building that has the appearance of a castle or citadel, with loopholes in its walls; and a stone mosque also with a single minaret. The ruins of a Christian church, once dedicated to St. James, still exists; and at about a musket-shot from the church five large granite columns, each of a single stone, sixteen or eighteen feet in height, are also left.

^a Abraham Peritsol, a learned Jew, whose *Itinera Mundi* was edited by Hyde, Oxon. 1691.—M.

Niebuhr's Travels, Part II. p. 406. *Olivier Voyages*, Tom. IV. p. 418.

33. The most circumstantial and accurate account of these kings has been given by *Theophil. Siegfr. Bayer*, in his *Historia Osrhoena et Edessena ex nummis illustrata*, Petersburg 1734. On the name Abgar, see at p. 165 of that work, a passage from Moses of Chorene.

34. Abgar Achomo, *i. e. the Black*, was the fourteenth of the Edessene kings, and a cotemporary of the Roman emperors Augustus and Tiberius. See *Bayer*, loc. cit. p. 96, et sqq.

35. Book I. cap. 13, or, according to another division, cap. 15.

36. See *Schröckh's Church History*. Part II. p. 32, et sqq.

37. אור-כשדים.

38. L. XXV. Cap. 8. Et via sex dierum emensa, (*i. e.* from Nisibis), cum ne gramina quidem inveniuntur, solatia necessitatis extremæ; dux Mesopotamiæ Cassianus, et tribunus Mauricius pridem ob hoc missus; ad Ur nomine Persicum venere castellum, cibos ferentes ex his, quos relictus cum Procopio et Sebastiano exercitus parcius victitans conservarat.

39. See above chap. VIII. note 124.

40. Others identify Ur Casdim with Orchon, a place mentioned by Ptolemy, in the south of Mesopotamia, and which was the seat of a learned sect of Chaldees. See *Cellarius Notit. Orb. Ant.* Tom. II. Lib. III. cap. 15, § 27, and cap. 16, § 21. *Hyde* (*Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers.* cap. 2, p. 73, of the second Edit.) finds the Ur of Scripture in Urhoi, *i. e.* Edessa, where,

according to tradition, Abraham lived for a considerable period. See above, note 30.

41. חרן. The word probably signifies "a parched or burnt country," from חרר, to be hot, to singe.

42. In *Paulus' New Repert.* Part III. p. 15. See also *Reiske's* Latin transl. in *Büsching's Magazin*, Part IV. p. 239, and *J. D. Michaelis* Supplem. ad. Lexx. Hebr. p. 930, et sqq.

43. حران, Syriac ܚܪܢ, in the *Geograph. Register* prefixed to Vol. II. of *Assemani's* *Biblioth. Orient.* and in the *Geograph. Register*, Tom. III. P. II. under *Haran*.

44. It is upon insufficient grounds that *J. D. Michaelis* in his *Suppl. ad Lexx. Hebr.* p. 933, supposes the Haran, mentioned by *Ezekiel*, was a place in Southern or Happy Arabia, called by the Arabs

حران القرين *Kharan el-Korein*. See *Assemani* *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. P. II. p. 562, 563, 564.

45. See *Mannert* loc. cit. p. 282.

46. See *Cellarius* loc. cit. Tom. II. Lib. III. cap. 3, § 27, note 4.

47. *Dio Cassius* XI. 25. *Strabo* XVI. 1, 23.

48. *Travels*, Part II. p. 410.

49. תל אביב, *i. e.* "the hill of corn-ears." The word *Tel*, *Tela*, a hill, is found in many names of places in Assyria, Mesopotamia and Syria, as *Tel-Birtha*, *Tel-Baser*, *Tel-Afer*, *Tel-Eda*, etc. See *Assemani* *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. Part II. p. DCCLXXXIV. *Burckhardt* remarks, (*Travels in Syria*, p. 149), in speaking of a place called *Tel-Afyun* (تل افیون)

i. e. “the Opium-hill:” “The number of these insulated mounds of earth, in the eastern plains of Syria, is very remarkable; their shape is sometimes so regular, that there can be no doubt of their being artificial. In several places there are two standing close together. It is a general remark, that where there is a mound, a village is found near it, and a spring, or, at least, an ancient well.”

50. כרכמיש. The name is composed of כרך, Syriac *a castle*, and the proper name מיש.

51. قرقسية. See *Abulfeda*, loc. cit. p. 23, and in Büsching's Magaz. Part IV. p. 242. Comp. *Michaëlis*' Suppl. p. 1352.

52. *Ammianus* XXIII. 11. Tendens Imperator Cercusium, principio mensis Aprilis ingressus est munimentum tutissimum et fabre politum, cujus moenia Abora et Euphrates ambiunt flumina, velut spatium insulare fingentes. Comp. *Cellarius* loc. cit. Lib. III. cap. 15, § 10, and *Mannert*, p. 289.

53. דנע.

54. Geography of Asia (Part XI. Div. I.) p. 557, and 263 of the third Edition.

55. ساند. See *Abulfeda*, loc. cit. p. 33, and in Büsching's Magaz. Part IV. p. 245.

56. See *Rauwolf's* Travels, Book II. cap. 5, p. 193, *Olivier* Voyages, Tom. VI. p. 321, et sqq.

57. ספרים.

58. Book V. cap. 18. Comp. *Cellarius* § 17, and *Herm. von der Hardt's* Sippbara Babyloniae. Helmstadt, 1708, 8vo.

59. In Eusebius Praepar. Evang. IX. 44.

60. תלשר and תלאשר.

61. *Paulus* remarks, (Key to Isaiah, p. 251): “תל and תלא, (with the Chald. א articuli), a hill, is an addition to the names of several Aramæan towns (See note 49, above). The principal word here, therefore, is שר. Perhaps the remains of this place are to be seen in *Schara*, a small town on an eminence, two or three miles from the Euphrates, a couple of leagues from Rahabah, in the district of Jezirah, in Arabia Deserta. *Busching*, p. 556, No. 6. A great many ruins are still seen here. In this country also, is the Anah of Scripture.” [See above, note 55.]

62. The Jerusalem Targum has, at Gen xiv. 1, 9, תלאשר for the Hebrew אלסר; and both it and Jonathan have, at Gen. x. 12, the same word for the Hebrew רסן.

63. Εἰσιὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐλυμαίων.

64. Rex Elicorum.

65. XVI. l. 24, et sqq.

66. Zobah, with whose king David waged war, would likewise have been introduced here, provided it could be certainly identified with Nisibis; but we already found that we must look for Zobah elsewhere than in Mesopotamia.

CHAPTER XI.

SYRIA.

UNDER the name of *Syria*,¹ the ancient Greek and Roman writers comprehend all the countries which extend northwards from the Isthmus of Suez and the Arabian Peninsula, as far as the high table land of the Euphrates, where that river breaks through the mountain-chain of Taurus, and which are bounded on the east by the Euphrates and the Desert of Arabia, and on the west by the Mediterranean Sea.² The Arabs call this great province *Barr-esh-Sham*, or simply *esh-Sham*,³ *i. e.* the country to the left, or towards the north, in contradistinction to Southern Arabia, *Yemen*, *i. e.* the country to the right; because when, in order to determine the cardinal points, the look is supposed to be directed towards the east, Arabia lies on the right-hand, and Syria on the left.⁴ According to the above mentioned boundaries, Phœnicia and Palestine would form part of Syria, but, in a stricter sense, neither of these countries is to be included in Syria Proper; for that only comprehends the region which is shut in on the north and south by the mountain ranges of Amanus and Le-

banon, and on the east and west by the river Euphrates and the Mediteranean. The ancient Hebrews distinguished this country by the general name of *Aram*, a part of which, however, they accounted Mesopotamia,^a on the other side of the Euphrates, which they called *Aram-Naharaïm* and *Padan-Aram*. As to western Aram, or Aram on this side the river, mention is made in the Old Testament of *Aram-Zobah*, *Aram-Dammeseh*, *Aram-Maachach*, and *Aram-Beth-Rechob*, as so many particular districts and towns belonging to it.

Syria is composed of three tracts of land of very different descriptions. That which adjoins the Mediteranean, is a hot, damp, and rather unwholesome valley, but very fruitful. The part next to this consists of a double chain of mountains, running parallel from south-west to north-east, with craggy precipitous rocks, long devious valleys, and hollow defiles. The air is here dry and healthy; and on the western declivities of the mountains are seen beautiful and highly cultivated terraces, alternating with well-watered valleys, which have a rich and fertile soil, and are densely peopled. The eastern declivities, on the contrary, are dreary mountain deserts, connected with the third region, which may be described as an extensive plain of sand

^a See the last chapter.

and rock, presenting an immense and almost unbroken level.⁵

Spring and autumn are very agreeable in Syria, and the heat of summer in the mountain districts is supportable. But in the plains, as soon as the sun reaches the equator, it becomes of a sudden oppressively hot, and this heat continues till the end of October. On the other hand, the winter is so mild, that orange-trees, fig-trees,^a palms, and many tender shrubs and plants flourish in the open air, while the heights of Lebanon are glittering with snow and hoar-frost. In the districts, however, which lie north and east of the mountains, the severity of winter is greater, though the heat of summer is not less. At Antioch, Aleppo, and Damascus, there is ice and snow for several weeks every winter. Yet, upon the whole, the climate and soil combine to render this country one of the most agreeable residences throughout the east.

Syria is, from time to time, visited with earthquakes, which occasion great devastation. During one, which happened in the year 1759, in the valley of Baalbek, more than twenty thousand persons perished. For the space of three months the shocks kept the inhabitants of Lebanon in such alarm, that they forsook their houses and dwelt

^a Specially, the *pisang* or *Musa Paradisaica*, in Arabic موز Maus or Mūs.—M.

in tents.⁶ In the year 1822 the inhabitants of Aleppo were compelled to do the same, a terrible earthquake having destroyed a great part of the city, and buried many thousands of the inhabitants in the ruins. Another calamity, with which Syria is visited (commonly after too mild a winter), is the innumerable swarms of locusts, which come hither out of the Arabian desert, consume, in a few hours, every green thing in the fields, and every leaf on the trees, change the face of the country into a naked waste, and bring in their train famine and pestilence.⁷

Among the mountains of Syria, the greatest and most celebrated is *Lebanon*,⁸ a long and high range of lime-stone hills, which, beginning at the Mediteranean, run in two parallel chains from south-west to north-east.⁹ The more southerly of these chains is called *Anti-libanus* or that which stands opposite Lebanon Proper. An eastern arm of that line is called *Hermon*¹⁰ (Deut. iii. 9) and also *Sion*¹¹ (Deut. iv. 48). In the first cited passage, it is said, that the Sidonians called it Sirion,¹² and the Amorites Senir.¹³ Both names denote a coat of mail.¹⁴ In later books of the Old Testament, however, (1 Chron. v. 28. Solomon's Song iv. 8), Senir is distinguished from Hermon, strictly so called. According to Seetzen^{14a} and Burckhardt,^{14b} Hermon is now called *Jebel-esh-Sheich*, i. e. "the Chief's Mountain," and a branch of the same

running southwards, *Hish-el-Kenneytra*. In the middle ages, the part of Anti-libanus, north of Damascus, was called Senir.¹⁵ The top of Amana (Solomon's Song iv. 8) doubtless belonged also to this mountain range. * * * The valley, two leagues wide, which is inclosed between Lebanon and Anti-libanus, is called *el-Bekua*,¹⁶ a word common to the Hebrew and Arabic languages, and signifying "a level valley." Strabo calls this valley Cœle-Syria, *i. e.* "Hollow Syria," at the north-east end of which lay Baalbek or Heliopolis, the city of the Sun, of which we shall have occasion to speak under the head of "Baal-Gad."

Lebanon received its name from its white colour,¹⁷ which is produced not only by the perpetual snow on its summit (whence the Arabs call it the "Snow Mountain")¹⁸ but also by the whitish complexion of the calcareous soil.¹⁹ If one approaches Syria from the sea, he perceives, almost upon leaving Larnaka in Cyprus, at a distance of thirty leagues from the coast, the misty heights of Lebanon.²⁰ As he approaches the shore, the steep precipices of the mountain rampart, and those gigantic masses of rocks, which lose themselves in the clouds, fill him with astonishment and awe. Directly behind Tripoli is seen what is called "the Bulwark of Lebanon," upon the top of which there are beautiful and fruitful plains.²¹ If it is approached

from Beirut,²² “ the traveller at first passes through gardens, where the vine tendrils twine themselves round the great trees which overshadow the road. The mulberry plantations and vineyards are enclosed with hedges of nopal,^a reeds, and shrubs. Small coffee-houses and fruit-shops, of stone or wicker work, are found at almost all the cross roads, and in the neighbourhood of the villages. The abundance of fountains, wells, and brooks is indescribable, and their water is most excellent (compare Solomon’s Song iv. 15). Mulberries and the vine are the chief articles of cultivation. As one gradually ascends the mountain, the prospect enlarges. He sees that the inferior ridges, proceeding from the principal range, run out parallel to each other from east to west as far as the sea. They are cultivated from the base to the summit, and every where present, elevated above the clouds, villages, farms, monasteries and vineyards, in which last, as is common throughout Asia, the tendrils not being bound up, are allowed to spread themselves along the ground. The valleys are deep and narrow. Beyond these fertile hills rise the steep eminences of the principal range of Lebanon. Flocks of black goats, with long brown ears, and white sheep, with large fat tails, feed upon these Alpine heights. The top of

^a Nōpāl is the Indian fig-tree or *Cactus Opuntia*.—M.

Lebanon forms the last elevation,—a bare, rugged and precipitous ridge of greyish rock, whose cavities are filled up with snow.” “Lebanon,” says another recent traveller,²³ “has a different aspect from the mountains of Switzerland. No spires and blocks of snow are seen on its heights, rising as glaciers above the chief level. This steep barrier of rock appears of a whitish yellow colour like chalk. As there is not a single trace of vegetation on the summit, the pale colour of the mountain top, and the clear azure of heaven, combine to produce a soft but dazzling lustre.”

The highest peaks of Lebanon are, as we have already remarked, covered with perpetual snow.²⁴ If, in the summer months, the forest of cedars be free from it,²⁵ yet in the upper regions, the snow remains on the ground even in June, July, and August; and in winter, it sometimes falls in such quantities, far below the level of the cedar forest, that unless it were dispersed by the wind, the cedars would be buried under it. The snow-clad heights of Lebanon not only provide the neighbouring towns with ice to cool their beverages in summer; but likewise are the chief feeders of the many springs which flow round its base, and finally join the common source of the principal river of Judæa, the Jordan.²⁶ Hence may be seen the beauty of the emblem employed by the prophet Jeremiah (ch. xviii. 14, 15):

Shall snow from the rocks of Lebanon cease to water my fields ?
 Or shall the far-flowing, cool, constant waters be dried up ?
 But my people forget me, burning incense to nonentities,—
 They stumble in their way, even on the ancient paths,
 Yea, they walk in paths that are not trodden.^a

Nature, says Jehovah by the mouth of the prophet, remains faithful and constant in the regular course prescribed to it by the Creator, but my people have forsaken my appointed way, in which their fathers walked.

As the heights of Lebanon, stiffened with perpetual ice and snow, are rugged and dreary, so, for the most part, the middle and lower regions of the mountain are magnificent and lovely. Travellers speak with ecstasy of the enchanting prospects which are everywhere presented to the view. Beneath the rocky eminence of the cedar

^a This is a *locus vexatissimus*. Rosenmüller adopts the translation of *C. B. Michaelis*, as approved by *Schnurrer*. Blayney (not very happily as appears to me) renders it :

Will the snow leave Lebanon before any rock of the field ?
 Will men dig for strange waters perversely in preference to
 such as flow ?
 But my people have forgotten me, they have burned incense to
 vanity :
 And paths of ancient use have caused them to stumble in their
 ways,
 Whilst they walk in paths of a road not thrown up.

See *Christ. Frid. Schnurreri* Observatt. ad Vaticinia Jerem. Tubing, 1793-4 : reprinted in the *Commentt. Theologic. of Velthuysen, Kuinoel, and Ruperti*. Vols. II.—V.—M.

forest lies, in a hollow, the Maronite convent of Canubin. The valley is copiously watered, being full of fountains and cascades; it abounds in pines, cypresses, oaks, and plantains. De Bruyn found this valley so agreeable, even in the middle of winter, that he declares he never saw a fairer spot on the earth.²⁷ The tract around the village of Bshirrai (which is likewise below the cedar forest), Mayr describes as splendid and unique in its scenery.²⁸ “The romantic mountain landscapes of the small Swiss Cantons may be compared with it, though in many respects it far surpasses them. It appears as if the most fertile fields were spread over the barren rocks. Silver poplars, sometimes single, sometimes in clumps, wave their tall and slender forms; and the stream of a waterfall rushes in a magnificent sheet down the mountain, and irrigates the whole of the surrounding country.” In order that he might enjoy this delightful scene, King Solomon built to himself pleasure-houses upon Mount Lebanon (1 Kings ix. 19).²⁹

Among the natural productions of Lebanon, the first place is due to its wine. All who have tasted it agree in extolling its excellence. “The vineyards here,” as Father Dandini relates,³⁰ “are not turned up with the spade, but ploughed with oxen, and are planted in parallel rows, which are placed at regular distances from each other. The tendrils are not supported by props,

but are allowed to spread along the ground. The wine made from them is excellent ; the clusters are astonishingly large, and the grapes are often like plums." A later traveller³¹ says, " An article nowhere met with in Europe, and found only here, is the *Vino d'oro* of Lebanon. When I first saw it, I thought, from its colour and general appearance, that it was a *liqueur* ; and after tasting it, I was not sure if Malaga or Alicant wine, could bear comparison with it. It leaves in the mouth a sweetness and agreeable warmth, without being intoxicating."³² The prophet Hosea says (ch. xiv. 7), that the people of Israel should one day be esteemed as the noble wine of Lebanon.

Nothing has more conduced to the fame of Lebanon, from very ancient times, than its cedars. These trees are not, it is true, peculiar to this mountain, for they also grow on Amanus and Taurus, in Asia Minor ;³³ but they do not there attain the same height and vigour as on Lebanon. The cedar (in Hebrew and Arabic *aeres*, *aers*), belongs to the family of pointed leaved trees. Its leaves are an inch and a half long, stiff, and evergreen, and more than twenty of them grow on each shoot. The bright-green cones stand upright ; they are of an oval shape, five inches long and four broad, and are firmly attached to the rind, which is of a bright grey or brown colour.³⁴ The young trees resemble

larches. The beauty of the cedar consists in the strength and elegant symmetry of its wide spreading boughs. The wood is reddish-brown with streaks. The resin, which exudes from the branches, as well as from the cones, is, according to Schulz,³⁵ “as soft as balsam, and its smell very much resembles that of the balm of Mecca. Indeed, every thing about the tree has a strong balsamic odour, and the whole forest is in consequence so perfumed with fragrance, that a walk through it is delightful.” This is probably the *sweet smell of Lebanon*, spoken of by the prophet Hosea (ch. xiv. 6), and in Solomon’s Song (ch. iv. 11.)

In almost no kind of wood are so many advantages for building combined, as in the cedar. The timber is hard, and free from knots, is corroded by no worm, and lasts so long, that some are of opinion it is not subject to decay. Hence, in the building of houses, it is used for beams to the roof, and for the ceiling and floors. The castle of Persepolis,³⁶ and the temple at Jerusalem, as well as the palace of Solomon there, were built of cedar; and in the last mentioned edifice, so great a quantity of this wood was made use of, that it is called (1 Kings vii. 2; x. 17), the *house of the forest of Lebanon*.³⁷ In Tyre, the masts of ships and the wainscot of palaces were of cedar (Ezekiel xxvii. 5, 6).

Of the extensive cedar-forests which once

adorned Lebanon, only a very few traces now remain. The grove of cedars best known, and most commonly visited by travellers, is found at the foot of the steep declivities of the higher division of Lebanon proper, opposite the village of Hadet. It is half a league distant from the straight line of road to Bshirrai, and a league and a quarter from that place, in the neighbourhood of which lies the Carmelite monastery, Mar Serkis (*i. e.* Saint Sergius). *Mayr*,³⁸ in the summer of the year 1813, computed the number of trees, of which this wood was composed, at eight or nine hundred, including every size. Among these he reckoned nine principal cedars, which were distinguished from the rest by their thickness and age, but not by their height, in which they were surpassed by younger trees. The circumference of the trunk of the largest cedar, at four feet from the ground, was about twenty feet. A fallen bough measured thirty paces in length. The trunks of five of the largest branched off into three or four divisions, each stem in which was equal to the trunk of our largest oaks. *Burckhardt*,³⁹ in the autumn of 1810, “counted eleven or twelve cedars of the oldest and best looking trees; twenty-five very large ones; about fifty of middling size; and more than three hundred smaller and young trees. The oldest trees are distinguished by having the foliage and small branches at the top only, and by four, five, or even seven trunks springing

from one base. The branches and foliage of the others were lower. The trunks of the oldest trees seem to be quite dead; the wood is of a grey tint." Besides this cedar forest, Seetzen⁴⁰ discovered two others, which surpassed this in extent, but they are mentioned by no other traveller.

The less populous parts of Lebanon, and the mountain defiles, harbour many wild beasts, particularly bears, wolves, jackalls, wild boars, and panthers. The skins of the last are very much esteemed, and are used as saddle-cloths.⁴¹ The lions' dens on Lebanon, and the mountains of panthers,^a are mentioned in Solomon's Song, iv. 8.

It is probable, that the Mount Hor, which is spoken of in Numbers xxxii. 7, 8, in the description of the northern border of the land of the Hebrews,⁴² was a north-eastern branch of Lebanon. It is said in that passage, "this shall be your north border; from the Great Sea ye shall draw your boundary-line to Mount Hor. From

^a Luther and our Eng. Translators have rendered this by "*leopards*," animals which are found indeed in the south of Persia and India, but not in Syria, where, however, the *panther* (in Heb. נמר *namer*, in Arab. نمرة *nimūrah*), is to be met with. The leopard is a much smaller animal, yet it is larger than the ounce or little panther, which the Arabs call فهد *Fahad*.—M.

Mount Hor,^a ye shall draw your border-line (farther), unto Hamath (*i. e.* Epiphania on the Orontes); and carry it as far as Zedad." Yet, in point of fact, the Hebrews did not extend their conquests across the south-east chain of Lebanon, or the Antilibanus.

Among the rivers of Syria, the most important is that which the Greeks and Romans called the *Orontes*, and which the Arabs still term the *Oront*,⁴³ although they more frequently call it *El-Aasi*,⁴⁴ *i. e.* "the Rebel," because it can only be made to irrigate the land by means of water-wheels. That, at least, is adduced by Abulfeda as the origin of the Arabic name;⁴⁵ yet it is possible that it may have been changed from an ancient name given it by the Greeks, *Axios* (*i. e.* the esteemed, the excellent,⁴⁶) into the similarly pronounced Arabic of the above signification. The Arabs likewise call this stream, *the river of Hamath*,⁴⁷ on account of its flowing through that ancient and celebrated city, and *el-Maklūb*,⁴⁸ *i. e.* the inverted, because, contrary to the general direction of the Syrian rivers, it has its course from south to north. It rises about nine miles

^a The words of the original are הַר הָהוּר which the LXX render by ὄρος τὸ ὄρος and the Vulg. by "mons altissimus." Reland (in his *Palæstina Illust.* p. 119), thinks that הַר is not a proper name, but the infinitive of an obsolete verb הָרַר whence הַר *a mountain* is derived; and he would translate הַר הָהוּר by τῷ ἀσurgere montis, or some such phrase.—M.

to the south-east of Upper Lebanon, at the distance of half a league from the village of Jiranidje.⁴⁹ Running for about seventy miles in a straight line, from south to north, it passes Hems and Hamath; it then bends from east to west, and, flowing in a course directly west, to the plain of Antioch, empties itself, nine miles below that city, into the Sea of Syria.

The second place among the rivers of Syria, is due to the *Eleutherus*⁵⁰ mentioned in 1 Maccabees xi. 7; xii. 30. This river divided Phœnicia from Syria, and is probably identical with that now called *Nahr-el-kebir*, i. e. the great river.⁵¹ It springs in Upper Lebanon, and joins the Syrian sea below Tartus. Burckhardt⁵² calls it a large river, and observes, that it is so dangerous in spring, on account of its impetuous rapidity, that the caravans from Hamath are often detained on its banks for weeks, without being able to cross it.

The *Chrysorrhœus*, now the *Barada*,⁵³ i. e. “the cold,” takes a course quite different from that of the rivers already mentioned. It rises in Antilibanus, flows south-east through a narrow valley towards Damascus, and near the village of Dumar, successively divides itself into five branches. The principal stream runs through Damascus, copiously supplying the city with water, by means of canals. Two other arms flow round the beautiful plain of El-Gutha, and irrigate its

gardens with countless water-courses. Below Damascus, almost all the divisions of the Barada reunite in a common channel, and about the distance of two days' journey farther to the south-east, the river is lost in a lake, several leagues long, very abundant in fish, but surrounded with morasses.^a One of the above mentioned arms of the Barada is now called *Baneas*. It has been conjectured, that this is the same river as that spoken of in 2 Kings v. 12, under the name of *Abana*.⁵⁴ The prophet Elisha had commanded Naaman, the Syrian general, to bathe in the Jordan, that he might be cleansed from his leprosy ; but Naaman replied : “ Are not Abana and Pharpar rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel ? ” The *Pharpar* ⁵⁵ is very probably the same river as that now called the Fidsheh.⁵⁶ Otto von Richter ⁵⁷ (who visited the country in 1815), says, “ that it springs from a cave at the bottom of the range of hills, by which the vale of Damascus is enclosed, in the neighbourhood of the village of Fidsheh, a few leagues north-west of the city. Here the Fidsheh rushes out in a rapid current from an old vault, which rests on a wall of large square stones, and forms the entrance to the cave. Right above the spring, is seen a high tower with the foundations of a quadran-

^a It is called by Volney, *Behairat-el-Mardj*, i. e. the Lake of the Meadow.—M.

gular apartment ; opposite the tower is a broad niche, and on the north side are the remains of a semicircular apartment. Beside the fountain there is built a large semicircular niche in the rocks, and by its side, a square edifice of large stones, ten or twelve paces long, and as many broad. Through an opening on the side turned towards the water, a part of the stream flows in, and runs out again through a similar opening in the front wall. The back of the square edifice, leans upon the rocks, and in place of a façade, there are only a few projecting pillars, beside which more niches are found. The side walls incline towards each other in a singular manner, in much the same way as a vault, except at the cornice. The external appearance of the stones evinces a high antiquity, but the whole is so rude and simple, that I cannot even form a conjecture as to the time of its erection. Immediately below the ancient edifice, the brook forms a fall of several feet, and then flows in innumerable little channels. Its water is as pure and transparent as can anywhere be found, and must be very salubrious. The stream glides away under poplar trees, and soon unites with the Barada, which comes from another beautiful valley. The latter river is half the breadth of the Fidsheh ; its source indeed, lies far higher, but it runs in a much deeper channel. Its turbid water appears of a whitish-green colour. It is reckoned very un-

wholesome, and is continually producing fever among the inhabitants of the villages on its banks, until where it becomes improved by its confluence with the waters of the Fidsheh. Both streams have an impetuous current, which they long preserve distinct in the same channel, without comingling, as is seen from the difference of colour. The inhabitants maintain, that the respective temperature of the waters likewise remains, after their conflux, for that the water of the Fidsheh is colder in summer, and warmer in winter, than that of the Barada." These boasted qualities of the Fidsheh, on account of which its source was early distinguished by architectural decorations, strongly confirm the supposition, that it is one of the two rivers of Damascus, whose waters Naaman conceived to be more salutary than all the waters of Israel.

Syria Proper, the extent and boundaries of which have now been described, was divided in the time of David, into several small kingdoms or principalities, of which the following are mentioned in the historical books of Scripture.

I. *Aram-Zobah*.⁵⁸ That this part of Aram or Syria, bordered on the Euphrates, is evident from the circumstance that, according to 2 Sam. viii. 3, David, having set out to recover, or as it is said, in 1 Chron. xviii. 3, to establish his do-

minion on the Euphrates, defeated Hadadezer, the king of Zobah. Hadadezer afterwards brought auxiliary troops from Aram beyond the Euphrates, that is from Mesopotamia, (2 Sam. x. 16). Thus the Euphrates was the eastern boundary of Zobah ; but on the west side, the Damasco-Syrian and Hebrew territories were contiguous to it. For the Jews, the Damascenes, and the Zobahites, made war upon each other. If the town Berothai (mentioned in 2 Sam. viii. 8), which David took from the king of Zobah, be the modern Beirut, then Aram-Zobah must have extended westward to the Mediterranean. Even Saul carried on war against Zobah (1 Sam. xiv. 47). It has already been stated, that David defeated the king of Zobah ; and when the Damascenes sent auxiliaries to Hadadezer, these also were routed, (2 Sam. viii. 5). According to 2 Sam. x. 6, the Ammonites hired twenty thousand foot soldiers from the Zobahites, in order to make war on David. Reson fled from Zobah to Damascus, possessed himself of that city, and became a constant enemy to Solomon (1 Kings xi. 24, 25.) Hamath (that is Epiphania on the Orontes) is called, in 2 Chron. viii. 3, Hamath-Zobah, because it either lay within the district of Zobah, or was contiguous to it. All these circumstances, viewed collectively, lead to the conclusion, that

Zobah ought to be placed between Damascus and Aleppo, as far as the Euphrates ; and they show, at the same time, the great improbability of the opinion advanced by J. D. Michaelis,⁵⁹ and generally acquiesced in, that Zobah was Nisibis, a town lying to the north-east, far beyond the Euphrates.⁶⁰ That the Syrian ecclesiastical writers take Nisibis for Zobah, has no more weight than the opinion of the Jews at Aleppo, that that city is the ancient Aram-Zobah ;⁶¹ yet the above given data, when taken together, make it probable, that the district of Zobah did extend north-west as far as Aleppo.⁶²

II. *Aram-Dammeseh*,⁶³ “ the Syria of Damascus,” which David conquered (2 Sam. viii. 5, 6). Of the chief town, Damascus, see below. The “ land of Hadrach,”⁶⁴ spoken of by the prophet Zechariah (ch. ix. 1), appears to have been a part of Damascene-Syria, or a province adjoining it, as they are mentioned together.

III. *Aram-Maachah*,⁶⁵ (1 Chron. xix. 6), or simply *Maachah*, (2 Sam. x. 6, 8), is, in the passages quoted, mentioned along with Aram-Zobah and several other districts of Aram. It seems to have extended from Damascus southward, as far as the north border of the country of the Jews, on the east side of the Jordan. For it is related in Deut. iii. 13, that Jair, the son of Manasseh, took possession of the country of Argob in Bashan, unto the borders of Geshur and Maachah ;

and, according to Joshua xiii. 11, the tribe of Reuben received, among other territories, Gilead unto the borders of Geshur and Maachah. Yet, it is added at verse 13, that the Israelites had not then expelled the inhabitants of Geshur and Maachah, but dwelt along with them there.⁶⁶

IV. *Aram Beth Rechob*⁶⁷ is noticed in 2 Sam. x. 6, among other neighbouring Syrian tribes, from whom the Ammonites had hired mercenaries to make war upon David. That this region adjoined the north frontier of the Israelites, appears from the fact, that according to Judges xviii. 28, the town of Laish, conquered by the Danites, and afterwards from them called Dan, lay in the neighbourhood of Beth-rechob. In that passage it is said, that none had come to the help of the town of Laish, because "it was far from Sidon in the valley that lieth by Beth-rechob." According to Numbers xiii. 21, Rechob lay on the road to Hamath or Epiphania; and in Judges i. 31, Rechob is mentioned among several places of Northern Palestine, near to Zidon, from which the inhabitants were not expelled by the Asherites. These considerations, taken together, (among which it is particularly to be observed, that Rechob "lay in a valley"), lead us to conclude, with some probability, that Aram Beth-Rechob was the same district as that now called *Ard* (the land) *el-Hhule*,⁶⁸ at the foot of Antilibanus, and near the sources of the

Jordan. "A few leagues below Banias (Paneas)," says Seetzen,⁶⁹ "the mountains form a long, but little cultivated valley, which is called el Hhule, and in the middle of which lies the marshy lake, which receives from it the appellation of Bahhrat Hhule."⁷⁰ This is the lake Merom or the Lacus Samochonitis of the ancients." Burckhardt, in the Journal of his Tour from Damascus in the countries of the Libanus and Antilibanus, says:⁷¹ "The mountains of Hasbeya, or the chain of Dshebel-esh-Sheikh, divide, at five hours north from the lake Houle, into two branches. The western, a little further to the south, takes the name of Dshebel Safat, the eastern joins the Dshebel Heish, and its continuations towards Banias. Between these two lie the lake of Houle, and the Ard-el-Houle, the latter from three to four hours in breadth. We descended from Rasheyat-el-Fukhar into the plain, in which we continued till we reached Banias at the end of four hours." Hul or Chul, is mentioned among the sons of Aram in the genealogico-ethnographic table in Genesis x. 23; and as Aram is the Hebrew name of Syria, Chul is, without doubt, the name of some part or district of that country. And as the Chaldee name Chel, which corresponds to the Hebrew Chul, signifies a valley, it is not, perhaps, too bold a conjecture, that Chul was the most ancient name of the above described

valley, now denominated el-Hhule, which does not materially differ from the Hebrew name.⁷²

Besides those parts of Syria which have been already described, and which show themselves to belong to the country, by bearing the prefixed name of *Aram*, the following, without being similarly distinguished, are also mentioned in scripture :

V. *Hamath*,⁷³ on the Orontes, with a city of the same name, which it still bears. In Gen. x. 18, a Canaanitish tribe of this name is mentioned; and Hamath is afterwards repeatedly noticed as the northern border of the Israelites, (Numb. xiii. 21; xxxiv. 8. Joshua xiii. 5. Judges iii. 3). In the time of David, Hamath was a kingdom or principality, the ruler of which was called Toi (2 Sam. viii. 9), and was friendly to David. The extent and boundaries of this district are uncertain.⁷⁴

VI. *Arpad*,⁷⁵ is always spoken of along with Hamath (2 Kings xviii. 34; xix. 13. Isaiah x. 9; xxxvi. 19. Jeremiah xlix. 23), from which we conclude, that it probably adjoined it on the east, beyond the Orontes.

VII. *Hauran*,⁷⁶ which is noticed by Ezekiel (xlvi. 16, 18), as a country bordering on the Hebrew territory, on the north-east, has still the same name, whence was derived the Greek Auranitis and Oranitis. It extends on the east side of the Jordan, from the Lake of Tiberias northwards to Damascus. Burckhardt, who traversed

this district in the autumn and winter of the year 1810, and in the spring of 1812, thus defines its modern boundaries :⁷⁷ “ To the south of Djebel, Kessue, and Djebel Khiara, begins the country of Haouran. It is bordered on the east by the rocky district el-Ledja, and by the Djebel Haouran, both of which are sometimes comprised within the Haouran ; and, in this case, the Djebel el-Drouz, or the Mountain of the Druses, whose chief resides at Soueida, may be considered another sub-division of the Haouran. To the southeast, where Boszra and el-Remtha are the farthest inhabited villages, the Haouran borders upon the Desert. Its western limits are the chain of villages on the Hadjee, [*i. e.* pilgrim’s] road from Ghebarib, as far south as Remtha. The Haouran comprises therefore part of Trachonitis and Ituræa, the whole of Auranitis, and the northern districts of Batanea.”

VIII. *Geshur*,⁷⁸ according to 2 Samuel xv. 8, 1 Chron. ii. 23, was a district of Aram or Syria, which adjoined on the east side of the Jordan, the north border of the Hebrew territory, and lay between Mount Hermon, Maachah, and Bashan, as appears from Deut. iii. 13, 14. Joshua xii. 3. According to the boundaries of the Holy Land, as defined by Moses, Geshur would have formed part of it ; but, in Joshua xiii. 2, 13, it is stated, that the Israelites had expelled neither the Geshurites, nor the Maachabites, but “ dwelt

together with them?" and that the Hebrews did not afterwards [permanently] subdue Geshur, appears from the circumstance, that, in David's time, this district had a king of its own called Tolmai, whose daughter, Maachah, was one of the wives of David, 2 Sam. iii. 3. She bore him Absalom, who afterwards fled to his grandfather, and remained with him for the space of three years, 2 Sam. xiii. 37; xv. 8. The name Geshur signifies "a bridge," (in Arabic, Jishr or Jisser); and in the same tract of country in which Geshur lay, there is still found a bridge over the upper Jordan, between Mount Hermon and the lake of 'Tiberias, called *Jisr Beni-Yakūb*, i. e. "the bridge of the sons of Jacob."—"It is," says Seetzen, "built of basalt stones, and in good preservation. I found the river here thirty-five paces broad. On the east bank is a *Chàn* (a vacant edifice, where travellers may put up), the greater part of which was destroyed in the French invasion; there is still, however, a small guard, with a receiver of the pontage-dues." Burckhardt⁸⁰ also gives an account of this bridge. "At an hour and a half below the ruins of the city of Noworan is the bridge over the Jordan, called the Djisr Beni-Yakoub. The road continues in an easy slope till a quarter of an hour above the bridge, where it becomes a steep descent. The river flows in a narrow bed, and with a rapid stream; for the lake

Houle, whose southern extremity is about three quarters of an hour north of the bridge, is upon a level considerably higher than that of the lake of Tiberias. The bridge is of a solid construction, with four arches; on its east side is a khan, much frequented by travellers, in the middle of which are the ruins of an ancient square building, constructed with basalt, and having columns at its four arches. The khan contains also a spring. The Pacha of Damascus here keeps a guard of a few men, principally for the purpose of collecting the *ghaffer*, or tax paid by all Christians who cross the bridge. The bridge divides the pachalics of Damascus and Akka.”^a From the nature of the country, it may be inferred, that this is also an important military pass, which must always have rendered its possession of some consequence.⁸¹

IX. *Abilene* is mentioned in Luke iii. 1, as a province governed by Lysanias, with the title of Tetrarch. From its being introduced along with Galilee, Ituræa, and Trachonitis, it is probable that it lay in the neighbourhood of these dis-

^a *Burckhardt* gives the name in Arabic characters **جسر بني ياقوب**. He adds, that Baniyas (*Cæsarea Philippi*) bears from a point above the bridge N. by E. There is a guard-house on the west side as well as the east. The ordinary *ghaffer* is about ninepence a head; but the pilgrims who pass about Easter, on their way to Jerusalem, pay seven shillings.—*Travels in Syria*, p. 315, 316.—M.

tricts; a conjecture which is confirmed by the fact, that, according to Josephus,⁸² Abila of Lysanias (so called, in order to distinguish it from other places of the same name) lay contiguous to Lebanon. The province had its name from the chief place, Abila or Abel,⁸³ a Hebrew word, by which several towns mentioned in the Old Testament were designated, and which probably signifies *a grassy spot*. In the district in question, at the eastern declivity of Lebanon, Ptolemy⁸⁴ sets the Abila of Lysanias, which, in the Itinerary named after the Emperor Antoninus, is placed eighteen miles north-west of Damascus, and thirty-eight miles south of Heliopolis or Baalbek. Pococke,⁸⁵ in the year 1737, found in this quarter a high and steep mountain, on the summit of which there was a decayed church, with the ruins of an ancient temple. The inhabitants of the country called the place *Nebi Abel* (*i. e.* the prophet Abel), and believed that Cain buried his brother Abel here. But the origin of this tradition is doubtless to be ascribed to the confounding of the true name of the ancient town, *Abel*, (the signification of which has already been given), with the name of Cain's murdered brother, sounded in the Hebrew, *Hebel*, for which the ancient Greek translators put "Abel." In the inner wall of the above-mentioned church, Pococke discovered a stone about four feet broad, and three feet high,

with a Greek inscription ; but a piece of it having been broken off, the ending of the lines is lost. “ This inscription in verse,” says Pococke, “ appears to have been made in honour of the architect ; it runs in the first person, and begins with the date ; it then mentions “ Lysanias, tetrarch of Abilene,” and intimates in the last line that a lady, named Eusebia, had caused these pillars to be erected. This inscription confirms the opinion that Abila lay in the neighbourhood ; it was without doubt the chief town of the tetrarchate of Abilene, which is said (Luke iii. 1.) to have been under the government of Lysanias. Opposite these ruins, in the valley on the north side of the river Barady, I saw two columns with their entablature, which appear to be the remains of the portico of a considerable building, large stones being scattered here and there on the ground beside them. I conjecture that Abila stood here, and perhaps lay on both sides of the river.” When the Romans made themselves masters of Western Asia, this district also became subject to them, and the Tetrarchs, who had probably attained to independence towards the close of the Syrian dominion, were established as their vassals.^a

^a The Abila of Lysanias (Ἀβίλα ἡ Λυσανίου) is, by some writers (*e. g.* Horne in his *Introduct.* Vol. III. p. 508), confounded with Abel-beth-Maachah, which was far to the south of it. There is a seeming discrepancy between the chronology

At present, under the government of the Turks,^a Syria is divided into five governments, (Eyalets or Pachalics.)⁸⁶ These are, 1. The pachalic of *Aleppo*, to which belong the sub-governments of Aintab, Badjazze, Alexandretta, and Antioch. 2. The pachalic of *Damascus*, which also embraces Hebron, Jerusalem, Nablous, Bostra, Homs, and Hamah. 3. The pachalic of *Tarablus*, or *Tripoli*, which extends along the sea-coast from Je-bail (Byblus) northwards, as far as Latikia. 4. The pachalic of *Seida* or *Akka*, which, extending southwards from Je-bail to near Jaffa, comprehends also the mountain country of the Druses. 5. The pachalic of *Gaza*, including Jaffa and the neighbouring plains. In the years 1810—1812, the Pacha of Damascus was at the same time Pacha of Tripoli, and consequently in possession of the greater part of Syria. The pachalic of Gaza was then united with that of Akka. The autho-

of St. Luke and Josephus, as to the period of Lysanias' government of Abilene, respecting which see *Winer's Bibl. Realwörterbuch*. Art. *Abilene*. Caligula gave this province to Herod Agrippa, and Claudius confirmed the grant to him, and also to his son.—See Josephus Antiq. XVIII. 6, 10; XIX. 5; XX. 7, 1, and Comp. Munter de Reb. Ituræor. (Copenhag. 1824.) M.

^a Since this was written, Syria has been conquered by Ibrahim Pacha, son of the Pacha of Egypt; but, in the present unsettled state of the East, it is difficult to say into whose permanent possession it may fall.—M.

rity of the Porte, however, has so much declined in Syria, that a number of petty independent chiefs have sprung up, who set the Sultan at defiance. The cities of Badjazze, Alexandretta, and Antioch, have each an independent Aga. When Burckhardt was in that country, Kutshuk Ali, lord of Badjazze, openly declared his contempt of all orders from the Porte, plundered and insulted the officers of the Sultan, as well as all strangers passing through his mountains; and, with a force of less than two hundred men, and a territory confined to the half ruined town of Badjazze, in the Gulf of Alexandretta, and a few miles of the surrounding mountains, his father and he had, for the space of thirty years, defied every attempt of the neighbouring Pachas to reduce them to obedience.

We now proceed to notice particular places in Syria which are mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, proceeding from north to south.

1. *Seleucia*.—To distinguish it from other places of the same name, this city received the appellation of “the Pierian” (*Pieria*), from the adjacent mountain Pierius; it was also called “Seleucia on the sea.” According to 1 Maccabees xi. 8, Ptolemy (Philometor) king of Egypt, subdued all the towns which lay along the east coast of Syria, as far as Seleucia; and here Paul and Barnabas embarked for the island of Cyprus, (Acts xiii. 4.) This city lay at the

mouth of the Orontes or Aasy, in a naturally strong position. It was built by Seleucus I. king of Syria, after he had overcome Antigonus : for, not considering his power sufficiently consolidated, he fortified this place, in order that he might be able to take refuge in it, should Antioch be wrested from him. It was situated on the south-western declivity of a rock, and was surrounded with strong walls and towers, some remains of which Pococke found in tolerable preservation. By the Arabian geographers, Abulfeda⁸⁸ and Edrisi, this town is mentioned under the name of Suweida.⁸⁹ A place called Kapse, inhabited chiefly by Armenians, is now found on the site of Seleucia. Beside the harbour is a well fortified suburb, in which markets are held.⁹⁰

2. *Antioch*, on the Orontes, was the residence of the Syrian kings, called the Seleucidæ, (1 Maccabees iii. 37 ; iv. 35), and afterwards became the seat of the Roman governors of Syria. It was built by Seleucus Nicator, the first of the race now mentioned, and was named after his son Antiochus. Its favourable situation, and the attractions of a brilliant court, greatly increased its population. It even became necessary to erect a second town ; Seleucus Callinicus founded a third, and Antiochus Epiphanes a fourth. Each town had its particular designation and distinct walls, the whole being surrounded with a strong fortification, and denominated *Tetrapolis*,

i. e. the four cities.⁹¹ Under the Roman emperors (several of whom selected this as their residence), the greatness of Antioch so much increased, that it extended to three quarters of a geographical mile in length, and, in the time of Abulfeda, it was almost of equal breadth.⁹² In the history of Christianity, this city is remarkable as having been the scene of the labours of Paul and Barnabas, and here the disciples of Christ were first distinguished by the name of “Christians,” (Acts xi. 26; xiii. 1, et seqq. xv. 22, et seqq. Galatians ii. 11—21.) It afterwards became the seat of the patriarch or archbishop of the Christian churches in Asia; and, in the time of the emperor Justinian, Antioch, as the chief station of Christianity, obtained the name of Theopolis; *i. e.* “the city of God.”⁹³ It suffered frequently from earthquakes, and, in the year 540, the Persian emperor Chosroes laid it waste, and, because the inhabitants had insulted him during the siege, he carried most of them captive. Justinian rebuilt the city, and although it did not reach its former extent and splendour, yet, by the time of the Crusades, it had risen to a place of great importance. In the year 1098, the Crusaders, after a tedious blockade, wrested it from the Saracens by treachery, whereupon Bohemond of Tarentum became prince of Antioch. In the year 1268, it was conquered and laid waste by the Egyptian Sultan

Bibar, and the seat of the Greek patriarch was then removed to Damascus.

The Arabs changed the name Antiochia into *Antakia*,⁹⁴ and the mean remains of this once magnificent city are still so designated.⁹⁵ Otto Von Richter visited it from Aleppo in February 1816.⁹⁶ “On the right-hand of the road,” says he, “the Orontes winds through a wide valley, which, at first, rises gradually, but afterwards very steeply, to the snow-clad mountains on the north; towards the left precipitous hills, embellished with the fairest verdure, and a great profusion of flowers, bound the prospect. Limpid rivulets flow from their deep and rugged hollows to refresh the thirsty traveler, and then join the waters of the Orontes. A green rock projects on the slope of the mountain, and upon this the walls of Antioch are seen reared high in serpentine windings and fantastic shapes. I speedily reached the gate of the ancient town, on the top of which there are large stones placed together in the form of an arch, with some ornamental work. It stands between two strong towers, and beside it is a small reservoir, shaded with lofty trees. From this point there is almost a league of paved way to the gate of the modern town. The latter scarcely occupies a fourth part of the ancient Tetrapolis, and is crowded into a corner of it on

the south side of the Orontes. The strong walls now inclose beautiful gardens, full of figs and mulberries, but which contain no other traces of the ancient town than pieces of bricks and tiles. The walls thence ascend the mountain in zigzag lines, and pass over the summit of the rocks. These precipitous heights, although included within the city-walls, could never have been cultivated, as is indeed manifest from the numerous sepulchral cavities. Had a fortress been erected at the top, it could certainly have long withstood the possessors of the town, although too high to be able to command it. Upon the lower and less precipitous declivities, are seen the remains of churches and other edifices, while all around are gardens blooming in the fairest verdure, and full of the finest almond trees. The modern town, with its narrow streets, presents but a poor appearance, yet I found more activity in the workshops of carpenters and joiners than I expected; and on the banks of the river, which is provided with large water-wheels, there are considerable manufactories of morocco-leather. The fishing in the celebrated lake, through which the Orontes passes, forms an important branch of trade, and is chiefly prosecuted by the Christians. These, however, are much less numerous than might be expected in the place where they first received their distinc-

tive appellation. There are but few Greeks or Armenians.

3. *Daphne*, a place on the Orontes, about four miles south-west of Antioch, with a grove, in which stood a temple consecrated to Apollo and Diana, which afforded an asylum to all who took refuge in it, either on account of having committed some crime, or in order to escape from their enemies. Hence, when the Jewish high priest Onias III., wished to secure himself against the violence of his rivals, he fled to *Daphne*, (2 Maccabees ii. 33); but Menelaus, having gained an ascendancy over Andronicus, who held the government of Syria in the absence of King Antiochus Epiphanes, Onias was artfully enticed out of his asylum and murdered. Of the grove, which was formerly the resort of the inhabitants of Antioch in their pleasure excursions, no remains now exist; and the site of the village of Daphne is occupied by a few peasants houses and two small mills, and receives the name of *Beit-el-Maa*, i. e. the Waterhouse.⁹⁷

4. *Chelbon*, *Halybon*, *Haleb*,⁹⁸ commonly called *Aleppo* by Europeans, is one of the most ancient, as it is still the largest and handsomest of the towns of Syria, lying on the river Kowik. It is mentioned under the first of these names by the prophet Ezekiel in the prediction against Tyre, (ch. xxviii. 18). “Damascus traded with thee

in the *wine of Helbon* and fine wool." The numerous gardens, which surround Aleppo to the extent of two leagues, still yield several kinds of grapes: a small white grape especially, according to Russell,⁹⁹ is reckoned superior to all the rest. "The large grapes produced in the houses, upon the vines that cover the stairs or arbours, are of a beautiful appearance, but have little flavour. The ripe grapes begin to appear in the market in September, but the height of the vintage is not commenced till November. It is customary to let off the new wine at Christmas; and reckoned necessary that the juice should remain in the jar six weeks in order to be properly fermented. The grapes produced in the environs of the city, are not sufficient for the annual consumption. The grapes for making wine are brought from Khillis and other places. The white wines are palatable, but so thin and poor, that it is with difficulty they can be preserved sound from year to year. The red wine seldom appears at European tables; it is deep-coloured, strong, heady, without flavour, and more apt to produce drowsy stupidity than to raise the spirits. One-third part of white wine mixed with two parts of red, make a liquor tolerably palatable, and much lighter than the red wine by itself."

It was probably from Seleucus Nicator, who

embellished this city, that Halybon or Haleb received the appellation of *Beroea*,¹⁰⁰ from a Macedonian town of the same name; it having been customary with the Syro-Macedonian kings to designate rivers, mountains, and towns in Syria by names derived from their original country. Haleb is mentioned in 2 Macc. xiii. 4, under the name of Beroea. Lysias, the guardian of Antiochus Eupator, caused the rebellious and traitorous Menelaus to be here put to death. The modern Aleppo, including twelve suburbs, is about two leagues in circuit. Among all the towns of Syria this is the best built, and it perhaps excels any place in Turkey for cleanliness, which is greatly promoted by the streets being paved with flag stones. The houses are built of free stone, and are mostly inhabited in the upper story only; the lower is used for warehouses, stables, kitchens and the like, or contains an alcove for the head of the family, being furnished with carpets and cushions, and serving as the visiting room. The castle stands in the centre of the town, on an artificial hill, surrounded by a ditch, (which is commonly dry), hollowed out of the soft limestone.¹⁰¹ The population of Aleppo, in the year 1815, did not exceed two hundred thousand souls, among whom were forty thousand Sherifs (descendants of Mohammed), distinguished by their green turbans,

about eighty thousand other Mahometans, and the same number of Christians and Jews,^a the latter amounting to about five thousand.¹⁰² On the thirteenth of August, and following days, in the year 1822, the greater part of this city was converted into a heap of ruins by an awful earthquake.

5. *Rezep*,¹⁰³ is mentioned by the Assyrian general Rabshakeh (2 Kings xix. 12. Isaiah xxxvii. 12), among the towns or small states of Mesopotamia and Syria, of which the Assyrians had made themselves masters. It can scarcely admit of a doubt, that *Rezep* was the same town as that called *Resep* by Ptolemy, and specified by him among the places in the territory of Palmyra. Abulfeda, in his description of Syria, notices it under the name of *Resep*,¹⁰⁴ and observes, that it was commonly called *Rosaphat Hashem*, to distinguish it from other towns of the same name. It lay, according to Abulfeda, (who visited it in person), not quite a day's journey from the Euphrates, on the west side of that river. *Arsoffa*,¹⁰⁵ which Halifax, in the narrative of his journey to Palmyra, mentions as a place lying four leagues from the Euphrates, is not different from *Rezep* or *Resep*.

^a Not far from Aleppo is a village called *Tedif*, to which the Jews resort, on account of a cavern, where they believe *Ezra* wrote a leaf of the *Torah*, on his journey to Babylon.—M.

6. *Tiphseh*¹⁰⁶ or *Thipsach*, is mentioned in 1 Kings iv. 24, as being at the extreme north-east boundary of the kingdom of Solomon. “Solomon,” it is there said, “had dominion over all the region on this side the river, (*i. e.* the Euphrates) from Tiphseh even to Azzah,” (Gaza) which was the south-western border on the Mediterranean Sea. The word Thipsah signifies “a passage,” and thus denotes a place at which it was customary to cross the Euphrates. Now, such a place was that called Thapsacus by the Greek and Roman writers, and the close similarity of that name to the Hebrew name, can scarcely fail to be observed.¹⁰⁷ At Thapsacus, the younger Cyrus, and Alexander of Macedon, led their armies across the river, which was four stadia broad.¹⁰⁸ Xenophon calls Thapsacus a large and rich city. Ptolemy¹⁰⁹ includes it in Arabia Deserta; but Pliny¹¹⁰ and Stephanus, in Syria. It lay at the distance of a long day’s journey from Tadmor or Palmyra. In the time of Pliny it was called Amphipolis. In the second Book of Kings, ch. xv. 16, it is related, that Menachem, king of Israel, depopulated “Tiphseh, and the coasts thereof from Tirzah.” But this must have been a different place from that on the Euphrates: for the latter was too far from Tirzah, (which lay in the territory of the ten tribes), to admit the supposition, that an Israelitish king, whose power was never extensive, had

made himself master of so large a tract of country, even but for a short period.

7. *Rechoboth* on the river,¹¹¹ i. e. on the Euphrates, was, according to Genesis xxxvi. 37, the birth-place of Saul, king of Edom. It is probably identical with the town called by Arabian writers, *Rachabath Malik Ibn Tauk*,¹¹² from its having been built by Malik, one of the governors under the Caliph Rashid. But, even so early as Abulfeda's time, this place had been again laid waste, and had dwindled down to the size of a village, in which, however, some ancient memorials still existed. It stands on a hill between Rakkah and Anah. Rauwolf, who travelled on the Euphrates from Bir to Bagdad, came, between Rakkah and Anah, to Errachabi, "a pretty large town of the kingdom of Arabia, which lies in a beautiful and fertile district, about half a [German] mile from the water."¹¹³ It is not improbable to suppose this town to be Rachabath or Rechoboth on the Euphrates.

8. *Hamath* or *Chamath*, on the Orontes or Aasy, was, in the time of David, the chief town of a principality or small kingdom, on which account the prophet Amos (ch. vi. 2), calls it "the great." In the age of the Jewish king Hezekiah, (about 728 years before Christ), the town, along with its territory, was conquered by the Assyrians, (see 2 Kings xvii. 24; xviii. 34;

xix. 13. Isaiah x. 9; xxxvi. 19). Jeremiah says, (ch. xlix. 2, 5), "Hamath is confounded, and Arpad, for they have heard evil tidings" respecting the Chaldean hordes which threatened them,—from which it may be inferred, that these places, even under the dominion of the Assyrians, commonly enjoyed tranquillity. It was under the Syro-Macedonian sovereigns that Hamath was first called Epiphania,¹⁴ probably from Antiochus Epiphanes; yet the natives seem always to have preserved the ancient name, which it still bears. Abulfeda, the well-known Arabian geographer and historian, who was prince of Hamath in the first half of the fourteenth century, correctly states,¹⁵ that this city is mentioned in the books of the Israelites. It is situated in a narrow valley, on both banks of the Aasy, and stretches along the steep declivities of the rocks, being embellished, in the lower part, by large and flourishing gardens. It is of considerable circuit, the streets are wide and convenient, but, as in most eastern towns, unpaved and dirty. In the middle of the town is a quadrangular mound, on which the castle formerly stood. The stones and other materials with which this hill seems to have been faced, have been taken away, and used in the erection of modern buildings. In the town are four bridges over the Aasy, which river supplies it with water, by

means of artificial works. These are particularly noticed by Abulfeda,^a and are, as Otto Von Richter remarks,¹¹⁶ among the chief curiosities of Hamath. As the town lies, in part, higher than the channel of the Orontes, the water of the river, in order that it may be diffused over the whole, is raised by means of buckets fixed to high wheels,^b which empty themselves into stone canals, supported by lofty arches. “The luxuriant verdure of the creeping plants, which, being nourished by a continual moisture, grow with exuberance over all the arches and pillars; the adjacent gardens, with their streams of water; the mountainous sides of the valley, covered with houses, and the mosques towering above

^a The following is *Abulfeda's* account of his own city Hamath, taken from *Koehler's* Edition of his *Tabula Syriæ*, p. 108. “*Chamat* is an ancient city, of which mention is made in the books of the Israelites. It is reckoned one of the most pleasant towns of Syria. The Orontes flows round the greater part of the city on the east and north. It boasts of a lofty and well-built citadel. Within the town are many dams and water-machines, by means of which the water is led off by canals from the river to irrigate the gardens, and supply private houses. *Al-Aâriwi*, in the book which he entitled *Az-Zejadat*, *i. e.* ‘Collections,’ calls this an ancient city, of which mention is made in *at-Torah*, *i. e.* the Pentateuch. It is remarked of this place, and of Schaizar, that they abound more in water machines than any other cities in Syria.”—M.

^b Called in Arabic *نَعُورَة* *Naoura*. The name of the largest, alluded to in the text, is *Naoura el Mohammedye*.—M.

them, combine to form a scene that is highly picturesque." The number of these water-wheels is stated by Burckhardt¹¹⁷ at about a dozen; the diameter of the largest is, at least, seventy feet. The chief traffic of the town is carried on with the Arabs, who purchase there the cloth and furniture of their tents. In the year 1812, when Burckhardt was at Hamath, the governor had jurisdiction over about a hundred and twenty inhabited villages, and seventy or eighty which lay waste. The western part of this district forms the granary of northern Syria, though the harvest never yields more than ten for one, chiefly in consequence of the immense number of mice, which sometimes completely destroy the crops.

9. *Riblah*¹¹⁸ is mentioned, (Numbers xxxiv. 11), among those places through which the north-east boundary line of the Hebrew territory should be drawn. At the time of the conquest of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, the town in question was under the jurisdiction of Hamath, as may be learned from 2 Kings xxiii. 33, and Jeremiah xxxix. 5; lii. 9, 10, where it is related that Nebuchadnezzar^a had his head quarters there, and that the king of Judah was taken thither for judgment. Some ancient Jewish

^a In the passage in 2 Kings, Pharaoh-Necho is mentioned as the possessor of Riblah.—M.

Rabbis were of opinion, that this town was the same as that called by the Greeks, Daphne, which lay near to Antioch; others have even conceived this latter city to be Riblah:¹¹⁹ but Antioch and Daphne lay much too far north from the borders of Palestine to admit of Riblah being taken, either for the one or the other. No place of this, or a similar name, is mentioned by any ancient writers among the Greeks, Romans, or Arabians, as being within the confines of the territory of Hamath; and, consequently, it is impossible more particularly to define the situation of Riblah.

10. *Tadmor*, or *Tamar*,¹²⁰ a town built by King Solomon (1 Kings ix. 18. 2 Chron. viii. 4),¹²¹ was situated between the Euphrates and Hamath, to the south-east of that city, in a fertile tract, surrounded with sandy deserts.¹²² The Hebrew name Tamar, signifies “a palm tree;” hence the Greek and Roman appellation of *Palmyra*, *i. e.* the city of Palms. It still preserves among the Arabs the name of Thadmor.¹²³ Palm trees are still found in the gardens around the town, but not in such numbers as would warrant, as they once did, the imposition of the name.

This city was built by Solomon, probably with the view of placing in it a garrison, by means of which, as the northern bulwark of his kingdom, it might serve to prevent the predatory

inroads of the Arabs. Of its fate, after the time of Solomon, nothing is known. The elder Pliny, in the first century of our æra, mentions Palmyra as a considerable town, which, along with its territory, formed an independent commonwealth, between the Roman and Parthian empires.¹²⁴ In the time of the Emperor Trajan, however, it was lying waste, but was rebuilt by his successor Hadrian, and from him received the name of *Hadrianopolis*. Caracalla invested it with the privileges of a Roman colony. During the weak administration of the Emperors Gallienus and Valerian, in the third century, while independent governments were arising in several provinces of the Roman empire, Odenatus made himself master of Palmyra and the whole of Mesopotamia, and, assuming the regal title himself, also bestowed it upon his consort Zenobia and his eldest son Herod.¹²⁵ After his death, Zenobia, styling herself “queen of the East,” ruled over most of the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, as well as over her own territories, and with so much firmness and policy, that Aurelian, who vanquished her and led her in triumph to Rome, could not withhold his admiration. On the revolt of Palmyra shortly after, Aurelian having recovered possession, caused it to be levelled with the ground, and the greater part of the inhabitants, without regard to sex, age, or circumstances, to be put

to death. He, however, ordered the temple of the sun to be restored, placed a garrison in the town, and appointed a deputy over the district attached to it. Diocletian adorned the city with a few additional structures ; and, under the Emperor Honorius, it still had a garrison, and was the seat of a bishop. Justinian strengthened the fortifications, and also constructed a very costly aqueduct, the remains of which still exist. When the successors of Mohammed extended their conquests, along with their new doctrines, beyond the confines of Arabia, Palmyra was one of the first places which became subject to the caliphs ; and in the thirty-ninth year of the Mohammedan era, which corresponds to the year 659 of the Christian, a battle was fought here between the caliphs Ali and Moawiah, in which victory declared for the former. In the year of the Hegira 127, (A. D. 744), Palmyra was still so strongly fortified, that it cost the caliph Merwan a blockade of seven months before he could reduce it, the rebel Solyman having shut himself up in it. From this period it fell gradually into decay. Abulfeda, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, speaks of Tadmor, as merely a village, but celebrated for the ruins of old and magnificent edifices.¹²⁶

These relics of ancient architectural art and splendour, were scarcely known in Europe to exist till towards the close of the seventeenth cen-

ture. In the year 1678, some English merchants, at the suggestion of Robert Huntington, chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo, resolved to convince themselves, by actual survey, of the existence of those immense ruins which were said to be found in the desert, and of which they had heard the Bedouins speak with astonishment. Their first expedition was unfortunate; the Arabs plundered them of every thing, and obliged them to return with their object unaccomplished. In the year 1691, they undertook a second journey from Aleppo, which was successful. Their report of the discovered ruins, however, met with little credit: it was thought improbable that a city, which, according to their accounts, must have been so magnificent, should have been set down in a country surrounded with deserts. But when, in the year 1753, Robert Wood published¹³⁷ the views and plans, which had been taken with the greatest accuracy by Dawkins on the spot, two years before, the truth of the earlier reports could no longer be doubted; and it was confessed, that neither Greece nor Italy could exhibit antiquities, which, in point of splendour, could rival those of Palmyra. The examinations of the above travellers shew, that the ruins are of two kinds;—the one class must have originated in very remote times, and consists of rude, unshapen masses; the other, to which the more gorgeous monuments belong, bears the impress of later ages. They prove from the style

of architecture, that the latter buildings must have been erected in the three centuries preceding Diocletian, in which the Corinthian order of pillars was preferred to every other. With great ingenuity they demonstrate, that Palmyra, which lay at the distance of three days' journey from the Euphrates, owed its prosperity to the advantage of its position on one of the great roads, by which the valuable commerce, which subsisted between Western Asia and India, was anciently carried on. They farther show, that Palmyra reached its highest wealth and greatness at the time, when, having become a barrier between the Romans and Parthians, the inhabitants had the policy to maintain a neutrality in the wars of those two nations, and to render the luxury of both subservient to their own opulence.

The present Tadmor consists of a number of peasants' huts, crowded together upon the pavement of large flat stones, in the outer court of the famous Temple of the Sun. Upon that temple architecture lavished her chief ornaments, and poured forth all her magnificence. The court, by which it was enclosed, was a hundred and seventy-nine feet square. Within the court, a double range of columns was continued all round. More than sixty of these pillars were still standing in November 1815, and for the most part in good preservation. In the middle of the court stood the tem-

ple, an oblong quadrangular building, surrounded with columns, of which, at the time mentioned, there were still standing about twenty, though without capitals, of which they had been plundered, probably because they were composed of metal. The interior of the temple is used at present as a mosque, with a very mean roof. The valley, which forms the road from Homs (Emesa) to Tadmor, is, at the foot and on the sides of the hills, beside the town, covered with sepulchral monuments, which are not all of the same height, though in a similar form. The highest have five compartments: over the entrance are found Greek and Palmyrene inscriptions. A league westward from Tadmor, there issues from the strata of limestone a mineral spring, which soon after divides itself into several branches, and irrigates the gardens. Upon the banks of this streamlet, Otto Von Richter found the only flowers in or near Tadmor—the environs of which nowhere else presented so much as a tuft of grass to the searching eye.

11. *Baal Gad*¹²⁸ lay, according to Joshua xi. 17, “in the valley of Lebanon, under Mount Hermon.” It is also said in Joshua xiii. 5, that among those parts of Palestine which were unsubdued by the Hebrews at the death of Joshua was, “all Lebanon toward the sun-rising from Baal Gad, under Mount Hermon, unto the entering into Hamath.” These circumstances lead, with some degree of certainty, to the conclu-

sion, that Baal Gad is the same place, which, from a temple consecrated to the sun having stood there, was called by the Greeks *Heliopolis*, *i. e.* City of the Sun, and which the natives at present call *Baalbek*, a name which appears to have the same meaning. The second half of that word (*Bek*) is perhaps derived from the Egyptian, *Baki*, “a town;” since, as Macrobius assures us, the worship of the sun was introduced in very remote times by the Egyptian priests into the Syrian Heliopolis. The word *Baal*, *i. e.* Lord, signified a god over Syria and Phœnicia generally, and hence the above most ancient name of the place, “*Baal Gad*,” “the god of fortune,” *i. e.* the planet Jupiter.¹³¹ But when, in process of time, the worship of the Sun and of Jupiter became blended, the name Baal appears to have been also applied to the former.¹³² If the *Baal Hamon*, mentioned in Solomon’s Song viii. 11,¹³³ was the name of a place that actually existed, it may reasonably be conceived to have been identical with Baal Gad, or Heliopolis;¹³⁴ for Hamon may have been a corruption for “Amon,” the Hebrew way of pronouncing the “Ammon” of the Egyptians, as is seen in the name of the town No Amon, in Nahum iii. 8. The Greeks, however, identified the Egyptian divinity of that name with Jupiter. He was represented by a ram’s head as a symbol of the sun, when in the sign Aries in

spring.¹³⁵ It is probable that Baalath,¹³⁶ which is mentioned in 1 Kings ix. 18, along with Tadmor or Palmyra, as places built by Solomon, is only another name for Baal Gad. To this day, the inhabitants of the district of Baalbek ascribe the building of the town to King Solomon.¹³⁷

It lies on the lowest declivity of Antilibanus, at the opening of a small valley in the plain El-Bekaa. The modern town consists of a number of mean huts built of red stone, and a few half-ruined mosques. A small stream runs through the valley: it has been divided into numberless branches for the sake of irrigation. At the deepest part of the valley, it flows round the castle in the neighbourhood of the ruins, which here rise above the dark green of the trees, while the snowy fields on the highest summit of Lebanon (which lies directly opposite) gleam through the airy pillars.¹³⁸ The town, inhabited by a few hundred Maronites, Turks, Greeks, and Jews, belongs at present to an Emir of the Metualis, a Moslem sect, which, on account of its peculiar maxims and usages, has formed itself into a distinct tribe. The ruins of the city of the Sun¹³⁹ lie on an eastern branch of the mountain, and are called, by way of eminence, "the Castle." Among these ruins, the admiration of the spectator is first excited by the remains of the Temple of Jupiter, erected by Antoninus Pius. It is an oblong square building, 138 feet in length,

and 96 in breadth, and is surrounded with pillars of the Corinthian order, 54 feet high, and 6 feet 3 inches in diameter. His attention is then attracted to the ruins of the unfinished Temple of the Sun, which occupy the remaining space, and are divided into two courts. A regular range of apartments runs round the wall of each court, oblong and semicircular chambers alternating. The apartments are full of round and angular niches, which, as well as the doors and gates, are adorned with extreme richness. The circumstance mentioned by Macrobius, of the introduction of the worship of the Sun and of Jupiter into Baalbek from Egypt, is confirmed by the observations of a late traveller, Otto Von Richter.¹⁴⁰ “ Isis and Horus often unequivocally appear. The winged globes, surrounded with serpents, show that the priests of Baalbek received the ideas of their divinity from On, the Heliopolis of Egypt. It is quite impossible to determine whether any thing here was the work of Solomon, or how much of the original erection has been afterwards altered to serve other purposes. We saw the celebrated Trilithon, or the three great stones, in the wall of the old castle. None of them can be under 60 feet in length (the largest is 62 feet 9 inches), and 12 feet in breadth and thickness. They are the largest stones I have ever seen, and might of themselves have easily given rise to the po-

pular opinion, that Baalbek was built by angels and demons at the command of Solomon. The whole wall, indeed, is composed of immense stones, and its resemblance to the remains of the Temple of Solomon, which are still shewn in the mosque Es-Sachra on Mount Moriah, cannot fail to be observed."

Burkhardt having seen Tadmor a few months before visiting Baalbek, comparison between these two renowned remains of antiquity naturally offered itself to his mind. "The entire view of the ruins of Palmyra, when seen at a certain distance, is infinitely more striking than those of Baalbek; but there is not any one spot in the ruins of Tadmor so imposing as the interior view of the Temple of Baalbek. The Temple of the Sun at Tadmor is upon a grander scale than that of Baalbek; but it is choked up with Arab houses, which admit only a view of the building in detail. The architecture of Baalbek is richer than that of Tadmor. The walls of the ancient city may still be traced, and include a larger space than the present town ever occupied, even in its most flourishing state. Its circuit may be between three and four miles. On the east and north sides, the gates of the modern town, formed in the ancient wall, still remain entire, especially the northern gate; it is a narrow niche, and comparatively very small. I suppose it to be of Saracen origin. The women of Baalbek are esteemed the handsomest of the

neighbouring country, and many Damascenes marry Baalbek girls. The air of Belad, Baalbek, and the Bekaa, however, is far from being healthy. The chain of the Libanus interrupts the course of the westerly winds, which are regular in Syria during the summer months; and the want of these winds renders the climate extremely hot and oppressive. The ruined town of Baalbek contains about seventy Metaweli families, and twenty-five of Catholic Christians. The Emir lives in a spacious building called the Serai. The inhabitants fabricate white cotton cloth like that of Zahle; they have some dyeing houses, and had, till within a few years, some tanneries. The men are artizans here, and not the women.”^a]

12. *Damascus*, the *Dammesek* of the Hebrews, which the Arabs pronounce *Dimashk*, and the Syrians *Darmsuk*.¹⁴¹ The modern Arabs, however, in conformity with their usual practice of designating the chief town by the name of the country, call it *El-Sham*,¹⁴² *i. e.* Syria. It lies upon the river Barada, the Chrysorrhoeas of the ancients, in an extensive plain, open to the south and east, but on the west and north shut in by mountains, which send forth so many streams, as to render the district of Damascus the best

^a Burckhardt's Syria, p. 13—15.—M.

watered and most pleasant of all Syria. The Arabs term it one of the four paradises of the East,¹⁴³ and relate that Mohammed, as he viewed from an eminence the splendour of the city of which he wished to take possession, hesitated to enter it, because he knew that man can enjoy only one paradise, and he had resolved that his should not be in this earth.

Damascus is one of the most ancient cities in the world, for it is mentioned, Gen. xv. 2, as the birth-place of Elieser, the steward of Abraham. In the time of David, it formed an independent state, and sent auxiliaries to the king of Zobah. David, however, defeated the armies of both, and placed a garrison in Damascus (2 Sam. viii. 5, 6). Yet, in the latter years of Solomon's reign, Reson, the son of Eliada, threw off the Jewish yoke, and restored the kingdom of Damascus (1 Kings xi. 23, 24, 25). A long time afterwards, Asa, king of Judah, requested succour of Benhadad, king of Damascus, against Baasha, the king of Israel, and instigated him to an invasion of the enemy's country (1 Kings xv. 18—22). From this time forth, we find the kings of Israel (the ten tribes) in perpetual warfare with the kings of Damasco-Syria, all of whom bore the name, or rather the title of Benhadad.¹⁴⁵ Jeroboam, the second of the name, king of Israel, regained the ascendancy over the king of Syria, and subdued the two principal towns,

Damascus and Hamath, (2 Kings xiv. 25, *et seq.*) On his death, however, the Syrians again recovered their independence, and the title of King of Damascus was assumed by Rezin. Having formed an alliance against Jotham and Ahaz, successively kings of Judah, with Pekah, who had possessed himself of the kingdom of Israel, he invaded and laid waste the Jewish territory. Ahaz, being unable longer to withstand his combined enemies, called to his assistance Tiglath-pileser, King of Assyria, who conquered and destroyed Damascus, and took possession of Damasco-Syria. On the downfall of the Assyrian empire this district became a province of the Chaldean or Babylonian, and afterwards of the Persian and Macedonian empires. After the death of Alexander the Great, Damascus and its territory became a part of the Syro-Grecian kingdom under the Seleucidæ, Antiochus removing his residence hither. During the commotions in Syria under Demetrius II., the Jewish prince Jonathan appears (as may be inferred from 1 Maccabees xii. 32), to have obtained possession of Damascus from the Maccabean family; but whether he maintained himself in possession of that city is not known. Pompey, in the war against Tigranes, caused Damascus to be taken by Metellus and Lælius, about the year B. C. 64. But, in the time of the Apostle Paul, we find Damascus in the power of the

king of Arabia, Aretas, who had in it a viceroy or governor, (2 Corinthians xi. 32, 33, compared with Acts ix. 24, 25).¹⁴⁶ Under the emperor Nero, however, Damascus again appears on coins as a Roman city.¹⁴⁷ Since the year 1517, when it was taken by Selim I., it has been under the dominion of the Turks, and the seat of a pacha of three tails. The Turks account Damascus one of the holy cities,¹⁴⁸ because Mohammed, having been carried up from Jerusalem into the ninth heaven, there to receive the Koran, descended again at Damascus. They also believe that the general judgment will take place there, and that Damascus will be the chief city of the future everlasting kingdom, which is then to be established.

Damascus continues to be one of the finest cities of Syria: the population is about eighty thousand, and is chiefly composed of Turks and Arabs, the number of Christians being estimated at little more than fifteen thousand. The Jews inhabit a separate quarter. "The city," says Otto Von Richter, "has certainly an imposing appearance. I traversed streets of very great length, where the richly-stocked bazaars were intermingled with elegant khans and baths, and neatly adorned coffee-houses. The public edifices are generally splendid; and, among these, the church of the Monastery of St. Paul's Conversion, which belongs to the Spaniards of Pa-

lestine, well deserves to be particularized. The city is enclosed with a ditch mostly dry, and a double wall, with square and round towers of very mean construction. The Arnauts of the pacha would not permit me to view the interior of the castle, the origin of which dates from the time of the crusades. One of the Spanish monks conducted me to the gate of St. Paul, called by the Mohammedans "the east gate." It is an ancient structure; two strong pillars support an arch, upon which a tower had been afterwards erected. From this tower are seen large heaps of ruins, the effects of an earthquake; and farther on, in another tower, they point out the window from which they believe the Apostle Paul to have been let down. The style of this tower, however, connects it with the time of the crusades, and an Arabic inscription, in the Suls character, (very much defaced), which is below the window, is not favourable to the notion of its pretended antiquity. In the neighbourhood of the Christian burial-ground are shown the remains of an ancient street, paved with round stones, cemented by mortar. Under this street an opening seems to have been worn by the water in the solid mass of limestone, and, in this place, the vision of St. Paul, by which he was converted, is erroneously supposed to have occurred.^a

^a A traveller of our own country, whose remarks on Scriptural localities are commonly more characterized by pious feel-

North-west of the city lies the celebrated Tempe of Damascus, called el-Gutah, and also el-Mardj, (the Meadow).¹⁵¹ It is a deep valley, running through the gardens along the river Barada,

ing than by accurate research, has the following rather credulous paragraph on "the sacred spots in Damascus":—

"The first spot worthy of notice is that on which Saul, 'breathing out threatenings and slaughter' against the Christians, was arrested in his persecuting career, encircled with a celestial radiance of glory, and struck blind by the arm of Omnipotence; while his confederates and attendants became speechless by a voice from heaven thundering in their ears. The exact spot on which this visitation took place is distinguished by masses of elevated gravel and earth, where, on the 25th of January, Christians in Damascus walk in formal procession, and read the history of Saul's conversion. It is remarkable, that, on this occasion, the pacha of Damascus appoints Turkish guards to protect the Christians from insult. The second spot to which I was conducted, is that on which Paul was secretly let down, under cloud of night, from the top of a fortification, to avoid the rage of those Jews who attempted to sacrifice him for changing his principles. The third is the house of Judas, in which Paul was found in the act of prayer under his new character. This is a miserable cellar or grotto, to which access is by descent, all hallowed abodes having been generally taken up in such excavations. The fourth, and last spot I shall mention, is the street denominated in Scripture STRAIGHT, in which the abode just mentioned is situated, and where Saul was restored to sight. It forms the principal thoroughfare in the city, and most literally deserves its Scripture name—since it runs in *an even and direct line*. All these sacred places are to the east of the city, where the convent is situated, and Christians are kept in a body totally distinct from the Turks. The quarter, in all probability, was at first selected on account of events so interesting to the followers of Christ, and important to the furtherance of his cause."—*Rae Wilson's Travels*.—M.

and is inclosed by steep declivities, composed of conglomerated limestone, in which are several natural and artificial caves, through which several branches of the river flow. In a wider sense all the gardens of Damascus are included in el-Gutah, that district containing more than eighty villages, and being one of the most fertile in Syria.¹⁵²

13. *Chobah*¹⁵³ [in the English Bible *Hobah*,] was a place, which, according to Genesis xiv. 15, lay to the north of the city of Damascus. The four kings combined against Abraham, and whom he defeated, were pursued by him thither. The same place is probably intended in Judith xv. 4, where it is said, that the Jews followed the Assyrians, whom they had routed, as far as Hobah. In the time of Eusebius, (at the commencement of the fourth century,) Chobah was inhabited by Ebionites, a sect of Christians who did not wholly lay aside the Jewish ritual.¹⁵⁴ In the year 1666, Ferdinand Von Troilo visited, from Damascus, the village Hoba, which, without doubt, was no other than the ancient Chobah. "It lies," says he "a quarter of a (German) mile north from the town, on the left hand. Near the city of Damascus, is seen a large hill, where the patriarch Abraham overtook and defeated the army of the four kings. There formerly dwelt here a sect of Jews, converted to the (Christian) faith, who were called Hibion-

ites; but, at present, the place is inhabited by a great number of Moors (Arabs) who have a mosque. In the neighbourhood is a cave, in which the patriarch offered to the Divine Majesty his thanksgivings for the victory.”¹⁵⁶

14. *Beth-Eden*,¹⁵⁷ which signifies [as it is translated in the English Version] “the house of Eden,” *i. e.* house of delight, or the pleasure-house, is mentioned in Amos i. 5, along with other places of Syria, which are threatened with destruction. “I will cut off,” saith Jehovah, “him that holdeth the sceptre in Beth-Eden;” whence we infer that this place was at that time (about 773 years B. C.) the residence of a prince. A village still exists on Lebanon, called Ehden, contiguous to the cloister of Kash-heya (known from its Syriac printing-press) and about three leagues from Canubin; and the delightful situation of the place well merits the above Hebrew appellation.¹⁵⁸ It is surrounded with well watered gardens and delightful groves, and the air is so mild, that De la Roque¹⁵⁹ was of opinion that there reigns a perpetual spring. The Christians of the East place here the seat of the terrestrial paradise. In the seventeenth century Eden was the seat of a Maronite archbishop. In the year 1688, De la Roque saw more than twenty small churches in the environs of Eden, which were dedicated to saints who had lived on that part of Lebanon.—This Eden, how-

ever, is not the only place which may be taken for that mentioned by Amos under the above name. Burckhardt, on his return from Baneas to Damascus, passed through a place on the eastern declivity of the Mount Heish or Hermon, which was called Beit-el-Djanné,¹⁶⁰ *i. e.* “the house of paradise;” a name which agrees in meaning with the Hebrew Beth-Eden. It lies in a narrow *wady*, at a spot where the valley widens a little. On the west side are several catacombs, hewn out in the chalky rock; a proof that this place has, at one time, been of some consequence. At a quarter of a league distant is the Ain Beitel Djanné, a copious spring with a mill near it. From Beth-Eden being mentioned by the prophet Amos in the same verse with Damascus, and the valley of Baalbek, [Bethaven] and, from Baalbek being on the east side of Lebanon, it would seem more proper to consider Beit el Djanné as Beth-Eden, rather than the Eden before mentioned as situated on the north-west declivity of the mountain.

15. *Berothai*¹⁶¹ was, according to 2 Sam. viii. 8, a town in the territory of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, which was conquered by David, and from which he took away much brass. From the latter circumstance, it may be inferred, that there were mines in the neighbourhood of this town. If Zobah were Nesibis, as most moderns have thought, after J. D. Michaelis, then the opinion of Faber,¹⁶² that Berothai is the modern Bir or Birah,

the BIRTHA of Ptolemy, on the east bank of the Euphrates, (where it is still customary to cross that river,) would not be improbable. But, since it has been already shown that ARAM-ZOBAH was on this side of the Euphrates (probably between Aleppo and Damascus,) the opinion of Faber must fall to the ground. Ezekiel (in ch. xlvii. 16,) mentions BEROTAH,¹⁶³ which is not different from Berothai, among the places through which the northern boundary of the Hebrew territory should pass, and observes that Berothah and Sibraim bordered on the countries of Damascus and Hamath. The similarity of the names would lead us to conjecture that Berothai or Berothah was not different from Berytus, the modern Beirūt¹⁶⁴ a sea-port town which is still of importance. The possibility of the king of Zobah's dominions, (to which Berothah belonged, according to 2 Samuel viii. 8,) having extended hither cannot be denied. But the above mentioned passage in Ezekiel scarcely allows us to suppose that Berothah lay near the sea. For, had this been the case, the place would not have been mentioned in verse 25, (as being between Hamath and Damascus,) but rather in verse 15; where it is stated that the north boundary should be "from the great sea, the way of Chethlon, as men go to Zedad." Josephus¹⁶⁵ mentions a town, Berotha, which was situated in Upper Galilee, on the west side of

the lake Merom or Samochonitis. But this cannot well be identified with the Berotha¹⁶⁶ of Ezekiel, on account of its having been too far south, *within* the confines of the Hebrew territory, and at too great a distance from Damascus and Hamath. All these circumstances render it impossible to determine accurately the situation of the Berothah in the book of Samuel, and which is spoken of by Ezekiel. In 1 Chronicles xviii 8, (the parallel passage to 2 Samuel viii. 8,) we find *Cun*¹⁶⁷ instead of Berotha.

16. *Betach*,¹⁶⁸ as well as Berothai, (along with which it is mentioned in 2 Samuel viii. 8,) was taken by David from the king of Aram-Zobah. The towns were probably contiguous. The Hebrew name of Betach, which signifies *security*, appears to indicate that the place was either naturally strong, or had been fortified by art. Sure data from which to determine the site of Betach, are as much wanting as for deciding that of Berothai. In the parallel passage in 1 Chronicles xviii. 8, *Tibchath* stands in place of Betach.¹⁶⁹

17. *Sibraim*¹⁷⁰ is mentioned in Ezekiel xlvii. 16, after Berotha, among the places through which the north-east border of the Hebrew territory should pass, and it is there observed that this place adjoined Hamath and Damascus.

18. *Siphron*¹⁷¹ is found mentioned in Numbers xxxiv. 8—10, and in Ezekiel xlvii. 15, 17, along with *Chazer-Enan*¹⁷² and *Zedad*¹⁷³ among the

places which lay on the south-east border of Syria, or on the north-east border of the Hebrew territory : no farther account of their situation is given. Jerome, considering Siphron¹⁷⁴ as not different from the preceding Sibraim, takes it for Zephyrium in Cilicia ; but such a supposition is wholly inadmissible, having only for its basis a faint resemblance in the names.

19. *Chazer-hattichon*, i. e. middle-court, lay, according to Ezekiel xlvii. 16, near the confines of the Hauran or Auranitis : consequently it must have been situated on the south-east borders of Syria.

20. *Chethlon*¹⁷⁶ appears, from Ezekiel xlvii. 16, xlviii. 1, to have been situated somewhere on the south-west boundaries of Syria, not far from the Mediterranean sea.

21. *Chelam*¹⁷⁷ is mentioned in 2 Sam. x. 16, 17, as the spot where an engagement took place between the king of Zobah, Hadadezer, and David, in which the latter was victorious. From its being said (verse 17,) that David had crossed the Jordan to meet his enemy, it seems probable that this place lay near the south-east border of Syria.

In very remote times, it is probable that Syria, like so many other countries, was divided into several petty states under their own princes. For kings of Aram or Syria are mentioned, 1 Kings

x. 29 ; and, in chapter xx. 1, it is said that Benhadad, king of Damasco-Syria, had leagued himself with thirty-two kings, by whom are to be understood princes of Syria, and, perhaps, of Mesopotamia. The following kings are expressly mentioned in the historical books of the Old Testament: viz. the kings of Zobah, (1 Sam. xiv. 47. 2 Sam. viii. 3,) the kings of Geshur, (2 Sam. iii. 3,) the kings of Maachath, (2 Sam. x. 6,) the kings of Hamath, (2 Kings viii. 9,) and the kings of Damascus, who afterwards became the most powerful of all. History exhibits the kings of Syria engaged in almost incessant hostilities with the neighbouring Hebrews. Even Saul, the first Hebrew king, attacked the king of Zobah, (1 Samuel xiv. 47,) and David carried on war with Hadadezer, king of that country, who, having been defeated in battle (2 Sam. viii. 3,) formed an alliance with the king of Damascus against David. The latter, however, overcame both, placed a garrison in Damascus, and subjugated Aram, or (as it probably ought to be understood,) the southern part of it, *i. e.* Aram-Zobah. For Toi, king of Hamath, who was also at war with Hadadezer, sent his son with presents to congratulate David upon this victory, (2 Sam. viii. 3—11.) David, however, does not seem to have ruled over Zobah long; for, soon after, the Ammonites combined against David with the neighbouring tribes, among which also

was Aram-Zobah. Joab, David's general, defeated their army; upon which the king of Zobah drew reinforcements from Mesopotamia, but was again vanquished by David at Chelam beyond the Jordan.

Under Solomon we find (1 Kings xi. 2, 3, et seqq.) another king of Zobah called Hadadezer, against whom one Reson excited a rebellion, and having possessed himself of Damascus, carried on war with Israel. After this time we find no more mention made of kings of Zobah, but only of kings of Damascus. Probably Reson and his successors had conquered, or otherwise acquired the remaining petty principalities of Syria, and united them with Damascus. Tabrimmon, who governed at Damascus in the days of the Jewish king Abijam, was an ally of the latter (1 Kings xv. 19), but his successor, Benhadad, became a confederate with Baasha, king of Israel, against Asa, the son and successor of Abijam. Asa, however, succeeded in purchasing the friendship of Benhadad by the present of a large sum taken from the temple and royal treasury; and Benhadad, who now turned his arms against Baasha, seized a considerable part of the territory of the ten tribes or kingdom of Israel, (1 Kings xv. 18—22).

The Syrians, who had now learned the interior weakness of the divided Hebrew states, frequently repeated their invasions. Under

Benhadad II. they invested Samaria, the chief city of Israel, but were totally routed by Ahab, (1 Kings xx. 1—22). In the following year, however, they renewed the attack (ver. 26), and again sustained so heavy a defeat, that Benhadad engaged to restore to the king of Israel the towns taken from him by his father, to permit him to build streets in Damascus, and to form a friendly alliance. He refused, however, to deliver up Ramoth in Gilead (1 Kings xxii. 3); whereupon Ahab and Jehosaphat, the kings of Israel and Judah, combined against Benhadad (ver. 4), but with so unfortunate a result, that the Syrians, under Joram, again laid siege to Samaria, (2 Kings vi. 24). On the death of Benhadad II., Hasael usurped the throne, and overcame both Israel and Judah, (2 Kings x. 32; xii. 17, 18, 19; xiii. 22). But his son Benhadad III. not only lost what his father had conquered of the Israelitish territory, but was even obliged to become tributary to Jeroboam II., king of Israel, (xiv. 28). Sometime afterwards, Rezin, king of Syria, aiming at the ascendancy, combined with Pekah, king of Israel, against Judah, and attacked the sea-port of Elath, (2 Kings xiv. 5, 6.) Upon this Ahaz, king of Judah, obtained the co-operation of the Assyrians: Rezin was defeated by Tiglathpilesar, and the inhabitants of Damascus were carried away to Kir, a coun-

try on the river Kur (2 Kings xvi. 7, 8, 9), about the year B. c. 750.

The Syrians then came successively under the dominion of the Assyrians, the Babylonians, and the Persians. On the overthrow of the last by Alexander of Macedon, a new and powerful kingdom arose after his death—the kingdom of the Seleucidæ,—which continued from the year B. c. 245, to B. c. 64. Syria was then reduced by Pompey to a Roman province, and was governed by a proconsul. Towards the close of the fifth century of our era, when Theodosius divided the Roman empire into eastern and western, Syria constituted a part of the former, and remained under the dominion of the Greek emperors till it was conquered by the Arabs under the caliph Abu Bekr, about the middle of the seventh century. Moawiah made Damascus the seat of the Caliphat, which it continued to be until the Caliphs of the race of the Abbasides removed their residence to Anbar. From the period at which the dominion of the Caliphs began to draw to a close, Syria became the scene of the warfare in which Fatimitic Caliphs from Egypt, and princes of Turkish dynasties, contended for the supremacy, first with the Crusaders, and afterwards with the Mogul hordes, until, in the year 1517, the Turkish Sultan, Selim I., wrested it from the Mamelukes. Since that time it has been

an integral part of the Turkish empire, and is divided into five Pashalics, which have already been enumerated.

The language of the ancient Syrians was cognate to the Hebrew and Arabic; but it bore a still closer affinity to the Chaldee or East Aramaic, from which, indeed, it differed so slightly, that Chaldeans and Syrians could understand each other with ease. "Towards the close of the seventeenth century," says a learned ecclesiastic,¹⁷⁸ born at Tripoli in Syria, "Syriac continued to be spoken in different parts of Syria, particularly along the range of Lebanon, and in the districts of Bshirrai and Tripoli. The Arabic, however, has now supplanted this language; yet in those places where Syriac was formerly spoken, the dialect of the inhabitants is full of Syriacisms. In Malula and Saidania, two villages near Damascus, the inhabitants of which are Melchites, Syriac, as well as Arabic, is spoken, although in a very corrupted form. The ancient language of the country is still used in the church liturgy. In the province of Mosul, and in the district of Mardin, Syriac [or rather Chaldee] is universally spoken, but by no means in purity."^a

^a *Volney* contradicts the statement of Syriac being still spoken in some parts of the country. *Burckhardt* however says, (*Travels in Syria*, p. 22, 124), that it is known and spoken by many Maronites, most of whom write Arabic in Syriac charac-

[“ The earliest document still extant in the proper *Syriac* dialect is the version of the Old and New Testament, which most probably belongs to the end of the second century of the Christian era, about which time we find the Syrian literature in general to have been flourishing and productive. The *Palmyrene* dialect is, with small deviations, Syriac; but it is written with letters similar to the Hebrew square character. The inscriptions in this dialect upon the ruins of Tadmor or Palmyra, which are partly accompanied with Greek translations, and extend from the period just before the birth of Christ into the third century, are not in themselves sufficiently numerous and important, and are not in all cases copied and explained with sufficient accuracy, to be of essential service to philology.”^a]

ters; and that the boys in the school of Ayn-Warka are taught to speak, write, and read, Syriac. The fact above stated respecting the prevalence of the language around Mosul, is confirmed by Niebuhr, Browne, and the American missionaries Smith and Dwight, in their *Researches in Armenia*. London, 1835.—M.

^a *Gesenius*, in the admirable *Dissertation on the Sources of Hebrew Lexicography*, prefixed to his *Minor Lexicon*. He refers to *Barthelemy*, *Reflexions sur l'Alphabet et la Langue de Palmyre*. Paris, 1754; and to Swinton in the *Philosoph. Trans.* Vol. XLVIII.—M.

1. [The following are Volney's remarks upon the name " Syria." This name, which, like so many others, has been transmitted to us by the Greeks, is an abridgment of *Assyria*, which was first adopted by the Ionians, who frequented these coasts, after the Assyrians of Nineveh had reduced that country to be a province of their empire.^a The name of Syria had not, therefore, so extensive a signification as it has since obtained. It comprehended neither Phœnicia nor Palestine. The present inhabitants, who, according to the constant practice of the Arabs, have not adopted the Greek names, are ignorant of the name of Syria ;^b instead of which they call it Barr-el-Sham,^c [or esh-Sham], which signifies country of the left ; and is the name given to the whole space contained between two lines drawn, the one from Alexandria to the Euphrates, and the other from Gaza to the Desert of Arabia, bounded on the east by that desert, and on the west by the Mediterranean. This name of country of the *left*, from its contrast with that of the *Yamin*, or country of the *right*, indicates

^a That is about the year 750 B. C. This is the reason why Homer, who wrote a little before that time, nowhere uses this name, though he speaks of the inhabitants of the country, but employs the oriental word *Aram*, changed into *Arimean* and *Erembos*.

^b Geographers, however, sometimes write it *Souria*, from the constant change of the Greek *υ*, *upsilon*, into the Arabic *و*, *wau*.

^c *El-sham* also is the name of the city of Damascus, the reputed capital of Syria. I am at a loss to discover why M. Savary has made it *el-Shams* or the *City of the Sun*.

Scham appellata est, quia colonia quædam filiorum Canaan ad illam *taschaamu*, i. e. ad sinistram se flecentes contenderunt. Jacet enim a sinistra *Caâbæ* vultu ad orientem converso. Alii dictam esse tradunt a *Schamo*, filio *Noachi*. Vocatur enim ille secundum dialectum Syriacum, *Scham*. Alii ita vocatam esse volunt, quod habeat *Schamat*, i. e. maculas albas rubrasque et nigras, terras, nempe, his coloribus prædita.' *Koehler's Translation.* :

4. Comp. Vol. I. of this work, p. 5, et seqq.

5. See *Volney's Travels*, Eng. transls. Vol. II. p. 358. [" Syria may be considered as a country composed of three long strips of land, of different qualities : one of these, extending along the Mediterranean, is a warm, humid valley, the healthiness of which is doubtful, but which is extremely fertile ; the other, which is the frontier of this, is a mountainous and rugged soil, enjoying a more salubrious temperature ; the third, which lies behind the mountains to the east, combines the dryness of the latter with the warmth of the former. We have seen by what a happy combination of the properties of climate and soil this province unites in a small compass, the advantages and productions of different zones, insomuch, that nature seems to have designed it for one of the most agreeable habitations of this continent. It may be reproached, however, like almost all hot countries, with wanting that fresh and animated verdure, which almost perpetually adorns our fields : we see there none of that gay carpeting of grass and flowers, which decorate the meadows of Normandy and Flanders, nor those clumps of beautiful trees which give such richness and

animation to the landscapes of Burgundy and Brittany." He says, in another part of his work, (Vol. I. p. 289), " If we examine a map of Syria, we may observe, that this country is in some measure, only a chain of mountains, which distribute themselves in various directions from one leading branch ; and such, in fact, is the appearance it presents, whether we approach it from the side of the sea, or by the immense plains of the desert. We first discover, at a great distance, a clouded ridge, which runs north and south, as far as the sight extends, and, as we advance, distinguish the summits of mountains, which, sometimes detached, and sometimes united in chains, uniformly terminate in one principal line which overtops all : we may follow this line, without interruption, from its entry by the north, quite into Arabia. It first runs close to the sea, between Alexandretta and the Orontes, and after opening a passage to that river, continues its course to the southward, quitting for a short distance the shore, and in a chain of continued summits, stretches as far as the sources of the Jordan, where it separates into two branches, to enclose, as it were, in a bason, this river and its three lakes. In its course, it detaches from this line, as from a main trunk, an infinity of ramifications, some of which lose themselves in the desert, where they form various inclosed hollows, such as those of Damascus and Hauran, while others advance toward the sea, where they frequently end in steep declivities, as at Carmel, Nakoura, Cape Blanco, and in almost the whole country between Bairout,^a and Tripoli of Syria ; but in general, they

^a The ancient Berytus.

gently terminate in plains such as those of Antioch, Tripoli, Tyre, and Acre.”] Comp. *Ritter's Geography*, Part II. p. 300, et sqq.

6. *Volney's Travels*, Eng. Transl. Vol. I. p. 304. [In our time, in the year 1759, there happened one, which caused the greatest ravages. It is said to have destroyed, in the valley of Baalbeck, upwards of twenty thousand persons, a loss which has never been repaired. For three months the shocks of it terrified the inhabitants of Lebauon so much as to make them abandon their houses and dwell under tents. Very lately (the 14th of December 1783), when I was at Aleppo, so violent a shock was felt, as to ring the bell in the house of the French consul. It is remarked in Syria, that earthquakes seldom happen but in winter, after the autumnal rains; and this observation, conformable to that made by Doctor Shaw in Barbary, seems to prove that the action of the water on the dried earth has some share in these convulsive motions. It may not be improper to remark, that the whole of Asia Minor is subject to them in like manner.] When *Olivier* was at Aleppo and Latakia in 1795-6, there were several severe earthquakes. See his *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*. Tom. VI. p. 359.

7. Farther illustrations of the ravages produced by locusts, will be found in the *Alte und Neue Morgenland*. Part IV. No. 1095, p. 370, et seqq., and Part VI. p. 289.

8. ^{٥٥}جبل لبنان^{٥٥}, לבנון. See *Abulfeda's Tab. Syr.* p. 18, 163.

9. Comp. *Büsching's Geogr. of Asia* (Ger.) p.

306, of the 4th Edit. *De la Roque's* Voyage de Syria, Tom. I. p. 31, et seqq. *Pococke's* Descript. of the East, Part III. p. 116 of the Ger. Transl. *Note.* *Oedmann's* Collections from Nat. Hist. for the Illustration of Holy Script. (Ger.). No. II. p. 175. *Ritter's* Geogr. Part II. p. 434.

10. חרמון. The similar Arabic word ^{و س و} خرم, signifies a lofty mountain peak. Other conjectures on the meaning of this name, will be found in *Simonis* Onomasticon, Vet. Test. p. 71, 337.

11. נשיאון, i. e. an elevation, a high mountain, instead of נשיאון.

12. שריון.

13. שניר.

14. See *Simonis* loc. cit. p. 71. Thus a mountain in Magnesia is called Θώξας.

14.^a In *Zach's* Monthly Correspondence. Vol. XVIII. p. 348. "One of the tops of Antilibanus," says *Otto Von Richter*. (Wallfahrten,^c p. 163), is called "Djebel Scham, the other Djebel Erbain, *Djebel Scheich*, and Djebel Katana."

14.^b Travels, p. 550 of the Ger. Trans. Comp. p. 449.

15. See *Abulfeda's* Tab. Syr. p. 164.

^c *Otto Von Richter*, to whom Rosenmüller makes such frequent references, was a young German of the most promising talents, who died at Smyrna, in August 1816, at the early age of 24. His "Wallfahrten" (or Pilgrimages in Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, and Asia Minor), was drawn up from his diary and letters by *Ewers*, and appeared at Berlin in 1822.—M.

16. ^{٥٥}בקעה, البقعة. Perhaps this is the valley mentioned by the prophet Amos (ch. i. 5.), as near Damascus and Eden, under the name of בקעה-און, *i. e.* the *Valley of Nothingness*, or *Vanity*, meaning the “Valley of Idols.” He may have given it this opprobrious designation, because in the temple of Baalbek, at the east end of the valley, the Sun was worshipped with all the pomp of superstition. *J. D. Michaelis*, indeed, in the notes to his German translation of the book of Amos, thinks the prophet put און for און, which, according to the account of an Arab, born in the district of Damascus, (who travelled in Germany in the year 1768,) is the name of a pleasant vale not far from Damascus, still called *Un*. But such a valley is not mentioned by any one of the Arabian geographers, or European travellers, who have written of the country round about Damascus. Besides, the Arab in question, whose name was Joseph Abassi, is declared by Stephen Schulz (*Leitungen des Höchsten*, Part V. p. 159, 160) to have been an adventurer and impostor, and very probably gave to the questions of Michaelis such answers as the latter seemed to desire. It is on the same doubtful authority that *Vater* relies, in his note on Amos i. 5, in his edition and translation of that book, (Halle, 1810,) when he refers to *Michaelis’* Arabic Grammar, p. 11, of the second edit. *Abulfeda* and other Arabic geographers (Tab. Syr. p. 20, 155, and in the Addend. and Corrigend. p. 1,) mention a country,

البقاع, between Damascus and Baalbek, and perhaps it was to it that Amos had a reference.

17. לבן, לבן, and לבנה, white, Exod. xvi. 31.

Gen. xlix. 12.

18. جبل الثلج . See *Abulfeda's* Tab. Syr. p. 18, 163.

19. *Volney's* Travels, Eng. Trans. Vol. I. p. 301. [If we examine the substance of these mountains, we shall find they consist of a hard calcareous stone, of a whitish colour, sonorous like freestone, and disposed in strata variously inclined. This stone has almost the same appearance in every part of Syria; sometimes it is bare, and looks like the peeled rocks on the coast of Provence. Such, for instance, is that of the chain of hills on the north side of the road from Antioch to Aleppo, and that which serves as a bed to the upper part of the rivulet which passes by the latter city. Near Ermenaz, a village situated between Serkin and Kaftin, is a defile, where the rocks exactly resemble those we pass in going from Marseilles to Toulon. In travelling from Aleppo to Hama, veins of the same rock are continually to be met with in the plain, while the mountains on the right present huge piles, which look like the ruins of towns and castles. The same stone, under a more regular form, likewise composes the greater part of Lebanon, Antilebanon, the Mountains of the Druzes, Galilee and Mount Carmel, and stretches to the south of the Lake Asphaltites. The inhabitants every where build their houses, and make lime with it.]

20. *Volney's* Travels, Eng. Transl. Vol. I. p. 293.

[A view of the country will convince us, that the most elevated point of all Syria is Lebanon, on the south-east of Tripoli. Scarcely do we depart from Larneca, in Cyprus, which is thirty leagues distance, before we discover its summit, capped with clouds. This is also distinctly perceivable on the map, from the course of the rivers. The Orontes, which flows from the mountains of Damascus, and loses itself below Antioch; the Kasmia, which, from the north of Baalbek, takes its course towards Tyre; the Jordan, forced by declivities toward the south, prove that this is the highest point. Next to Lebanon, the most elevated part of the country is Mount Akkar, which becomes visible as soon as we leave Marra in the Desert. It appears like an enormous flattened cone, and is constantly in view for two days' journey.]

21. *Rauwolf's Travels*, p. 274.

22. *Otto v. Richter's Wallfahrten*, p. 76, et seqq.

23. *Joh. Heinr. Mayr*, Schicksale eines Schweizers, Vol. III. p. 80.

24. *Mayr* (loc. cit.) alludes to the fine effect of the snow upon Lebanon, as seen in relief against the clear azure of the sky, and illumined by the rays of the sun.

25. *Maundrell* mentions, that as he was travelling on Lebanon, on the 6th and 7th of May, he rode for six leagues in deep snow. "These heights," he adds, "thus serve as a repository for the snows, which are melted in summer, and supply the rivers and springs in the valleys with water."

26. *Tacitus*, *Histor.* V. 6. Praecipuum montium Libanum (terra) erigit, mirum dictu, tantos inter ar-

dores opacum, fidumque nivibus. Idem annem Jordanem fundit alitque.

27. Voyage au Levant, p. 307 of the Folio edit.

28. Loc. cit. Book III. p. 73, et seqq. Comp. p. 8, and *De la Roque's Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban*. Tom. I. p. 194.

29. Pleasure-houses or summer-palaces are not, indeed, expressly mentioned in 1 Kings ix. 19, but as it is there said, "he built upon Lebanon," it is probable that the erections there were of that description. It is quite in accordance with the practice of eastern monarchs, to pass the summer in some mountainous tract of their dominions, where the temperature is cooler. Yet it is incorrect to understand with some, that *the house of the wood of Lebanon*, mentioned in 1 Kings vii. 2; x. 10, was a pleasure-house built by Solomon on that mountain. See above, p. 210 [and below, note 37].

30. In *Paulus' Collection*, Part II. p. 214.

31. *Mayr*, loc. cit. Book II. p. 228, 238. Book III. p. 63.

32. The wines of Lebanon are likewise celebrated by *De Bruyn*, (Voyage, p. 307). He calls them, "les meilleurs vins et les plus delicats, qui se trouvent dans tout le reste du monde. Ils sont rouges, d'une tres belle couleur, et si onctueux, qu'ils attachent au verre. Aussi le Prophete Osée en tire-t-il une comparaison, quand il dit," ch. xiv. 8, etc.

33. See *Belon's Observations*, Livre II. ch. 107, 110.

34. Whatsoever was known respecting these cedars in the middle of the eighteenth century, was fully de-

tailed in Trew's *Historia cedrorum Libani*, Nuremberg, 1757, 4to, and in the *Apologia et Mantissa observationis de cedro Libani*, Nuremberg, 1767. Both are preserved in the *Nov. Act. Acad. Naturae Curiosorum*, the former in the *second*, the latter in the *first* part.

35. *Leitungen des Höchsten*, Part V. p. 459.

36. *Curtius Hist. Alexandri* M. L. V. Cap. 7. *Multa cedro aedificata erat regia.*

37. *Iken*, in his *Dissert. de Baal-Gad*, § 13, (in the *Dissertt. Philologico-Theologg.* Part I. p. 251,) is at great pains to prove that the בית יער הלבנון was a summer-palace or pleasure-house on Lebanon. But his reasoning is inconclusive; for in 1 Kings vii. the reference is plainly to the palace in Jerusalem; and when it is said in ch. x. 17, that Solomon preserved in that palace a large quantity of targets and shields of gold, and caused his throne in it to be constructed in the most curious and costly fashion—all that seems to point rather to a palace in the residence city, than to a mere villa or place of summer retreat.

38. *Loc. cit.* vol. iii. p. 76.

39. *Travels*, Part I. p. 62, of the German translation.

40. In *Zach's Monthly Correspondence*, vol. xiii. p. 549.

41. See *De la Roque*, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 70. *De Bruyn*, p. 308. *Burckhardt*, vol. i. p. 99. The Arabic word نهورة, which that traveller interprets by "tiger," rather signifies panther, (as is remarked by

Gesenius in his Note, p. 497.)^a Like the Hebrew נמר. That animal is met with in Lebanon, (Song of Solomon, iv. 8), and also, according to Seetzen, in the district of Banyas. *Schulz* (loc. cit. Part V. p. 465,) relates, that the son of a Maronite priest on Lebanon was attacked by tigers, and after a vigorous defence made his escape, but afterwards died of his wounds. These without doubt were *panthers*. Comp. *Oedmann's* Collections, Book II. chap. 9, p. 199.

42. The Mount Hor mentioned in Num. xxxiv. 7, 8, is evidently different from that upon which Aaron died, (Num. xxxiii. 38), on the south-eastern border of Palestine. *Bellermann* (Handbuch. Part II. p. 377,) takes that northern Mount Hor for the southern part of the Mons Casius, now Jebel Okrab, (See *Von Richter's* Pilgrimage, p. 284). But it is scarcely probable that Moses would have placed the boundary of the land to be conquered by the Israelites so far to the north. Hor הור is an ancient appellation, synonymous with הר a mountain, (comp. Gen. xlix. 26, where, however, the true punctuation is, הַר הַיְיִ, עֵר,) and it came to be used as a proper name, only in the designation of certain mountains. In Numb. xxxiv. 7, *Hamelsveld*, (Bib. Geog. Part I. p. 174 of the German translation), instead of הַר הַיְיִ, עֵר would read with the LXX. הַר הַיְיִ, עֵר, “the Mountain,” *i. e.* the hill so designated by way of pre-emi-

^a The reference is to the German translation of Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, edited by Gesenius, with Notes.—M

nence,—meaning Lebanon. But that is a needless alteration. Comp. the note of *Jänisch* the German translator.

دور

43. *أرنط* See *Schultens'* Index Geograph. in his *Vita Saladini*, under : Fluvius Orontes.

44. *العاصي*^a *De la Roque*, loc. cit. Tom. I. p. 262. *Burckhardt*, Part I. p. 231.

45. Tab. Syr. p. 149. The Jews translate the Arabic name by the Hebrew *מרוד*. Thus, in the usual subscription at the end of a MS. of the Pentateuch in the Bodleian Library, it is said to have been written *במדינת חמת דעל נהר מרוד*, “in the city of Hamath, which is on the river of Marud.” See *Kennicot's* Dissert. Gener. in V. T. p. 344 of Bruns edition. The wheels which raise the water of the Orontes and lead it into canals, by which it is spread over the country, are described by *Pococke*, Part II. p. 210. *Burckhardt*, Part I. p. 252; and *Otto von Richter*, p. 232.

46. *Ἀξιός*. See *Von Richter*, loc. cit. p. 230.

47. See *Abulfeda's* Tab. Syr. p. 149.

48. *النهر المقلوب* in *Abulfeda* loc. cit. [*El-Nahr-el-Maklūb*, i. e. *fluvius inversus*, so called, says *Abulfeda*, because it runs from south to north. This name will remind the reader of the *Mukallibé* or *Mujelibé*, (i. e. the overturned), the designation gi-

^a *El-Aasi*, i. e. the Rebel, so called, says Volney, (vol. ii. p. 155), on account of its swiftness. But that seems a mistake. See *Abulfeda's* remark in the text of Rosenmüller.—M.

ven to one of the great heaps of ruins at Babylon. See the present volume, p. 80. The following is the course of the river, as described by Abulfeda, who was prince of Hamath, and must have been well acquainted with his native stream: “Ad fontem est rivulus scatens e pago *ar Ras*, ad diætæ fere distantiam a Baalbekh septentrionem versus. Inde versus eandem plagam pergens devenit ad locum, qui *Kayem al Harmel* dicitur, inter *Gjusiāt* atque *ar Ras*, ubi in vallem abrumpitur, ibique emergit maxima hujus fluvii pars ex loco, qui vocatur *Magharat ar Rahebi*, i. e. spelunca religiosi. Deinde in boream pergens, praeterlapsus *Gjusiāt*, effunditur in locum *Kades* ad occasum *Emessae*, ex quo egressus praeterita *Emessa*, inde *ar Rostana*, tum *Chamata*, post *Schaizara*, tandem miscetur lacu *Apameensi*, emergens vero ex illo super *Darkhush* tendit ad *Gjasr al Chadid*. In quo omni cursu orientale latus montis ad *Lokhami* stringit. Postquam vero devenit ad *Gjasr al Chadid* secat montem illum, tumque in arcum inflexus tendit versus austrum occidentalem, alluensque moenia *Antiochiae* postremo in mare Mediterraneum exit apud *Suweidiam* ad Longit. 61, Lat. 36.” Supplem. ad Tab. Syr. by Koehler, p. 149—51.]

49. That Pliny gives an incorrect account of the sources of the Orontes, is shewn by *De la Roque*, loc. cit. Tom. I. p. 165, et seq.

50. Ἐλευθέροϛ. In the Syriac version the name is rendered by ܐܢܝܢ ܕܠܗܘܬܐ, “son of the free,” i. e. the free. It is uncertain, however, whether this Syriac name was ever in use. Perhaps it was called “the Free” by the Greeks, because it formed the boundary between

Syria and Phœnicia, and did not properly belong to either country.

51. النهر الكبير. Another river of this name is that mentioned by *Abulfeda*, (in his *Tabula Syr.* p. 152), which rises above Apamea, and runs into the lake that has its name from that town. *Shaw* is of opinion (*Travels* p. 235 of the Germ. transl.) that the Eleutherus was that river which is now called Nahr-el-Berd, or Barada, an opinion adopted by *J. D. Michaelis*, in his Note upon 1 Macc. xi. 7; but see *Büsching's* *Geogr. of Asia*, p. 326 of the 3d edition. Comp. *J. M. Hase's* *Regni Davidici et Salomonei Descriptio*, p. 266. *Maundrell* in *Paulus' Collection*, Part I. p. 35, and the note of the editor at p. 303.

52. Loc. cit. p. 270.

53. بردا. See *Abulfeda*, loc. cit. p. 15, 174, 175. Comp. *Goliush's* on Alfargani, p. 128. *Burckhardt*, p. 37. The course and various branches of this river have been most minutely described by *O. von Richter* (in his *Wallfahrten*, p. 154; et seq.) whom we have here followed.

104. אבנה also אמנה (Song of Solomon, iv. 8, and 2 Kings v. 12,) according to the marginal reading. This discrepancy arises from the frequent commutation among the orientals of the letters b and m. The name probably denotes "a river which maintains a perpetual flow," in contradistinction to the many streams in the east which in summer are dried up. Comp. אמן used of rivers in this sense, Isa. xxxiii. 16,

and, on the other hand, אֶכְזָב, *a deceitful brook*,^a Jer. xv. 18.

55. פֶּרֶר, *the rapid*. Comp. the Samaritan and Chaldee, פֶּרָה, פֶּרָא *to flow*, and the Arabic فَرَّ *to be quick*. See *Simonis Onomast.* V. T. p. 134.

56. الفَيْحَة. See *Abulfeda*, loc. cit. p. 174. The root فَاج signifies in the fourth form *to haste, to flow*. The name is thus synonymous with פֶּרֶר.

57. Loc. cit. p. 156, et seqq. Comp. *Pococke's Descript. of the East.* Part II. p. 179.

58. אֶרֶם צוּבָה. *Simonis* loc. cit. p. 236, explains the name Syria cavitatis (coll. Arab. صَاب, *depressit, inclinavit*), i. q. Coele-Syria.

59. In the Dissert. de Syria Sobaea, in his Commentatt. in Societ. Scientiar. Goetting. per annos 1763—1768, praelectt. Bremen, 1769, 4. P. 67, et seqq.

60. See above in chap. x. That the auxiliaries of the Ammonites were brought from a remote country beyond the Euphrates, on the borders of Assyria, is in the highest degree improbable.

61. See *Benjamin of Tudela*, p. 59 of the Edit. of L'Empereur, and *Goliüs* on Alfargani, p. 275.

62. *Bochart* Geogr. S. P. I. (Phaleg.) L. II. Cap. 6, p. 89: In Ptolemaeo *Sabe* et *Barathena*, Arabiae

^a Some think that the expression there “the deception of waters that are not sure or real,” has rather a reference to the well-known phenomenon called the *mirage*, so common in the deserts of the east. See *Harmer's Observat.* ch. v. obs. 4, note.—M.

desertae urbes in Palmyrenae finibus, videntur esse *Soba* et *Berothai*, Sobaeorum oppida, quorum in Scriptura mentio Comp. Hase, loc. cit. p. 258.

63. ארם דמשק.

64. ארץ הדרך. Joseph Abassi, the individual above-mentioned at note 16, assured *J. D. Michaelis* (Suppl. ad Lexx. Hebb. p. 677), that he had heard of a small town, Chadrach, *حدرک*, lying to the east of Damascus, and which had been formerly the capital of a large district, and was once larger than Damascus. But, as we before observed, every statement of this man is to be received with very great suspicion.

65. ארם מעבה. The name *מעבה* from *מעך*, *to press, to press together*, seems to denote a country inclosed and hemmed in by mountains, a land of valleys.

66. The Chaldee translators render *מעבה* by אפיקורום, *Ἐπικῆρος*. That is the name of a place mentioned by Ptolemy, not far from Callirhoë, in the district of the modern Schaubek. See *Michaelis'* Comment. de Bello Nesibeni, in the Commentt, (p. 104), cited at note 59. *Bochart* (loc. cit.) regards the interpretation of the Chaldee Transl. as not improbable. But *Hase* (loc. cit. p. 278) correctly remarks, that the situation of Epikæros, on the east side of the Dead Sea, in Arabia Petræa, was too far south to correspond with the site which, in scripture, is assigned to Maachah. The Syrian translator of the Books of Chronicles has in 1 Chron. xix. 6, instead of Maachah, *ܟܪܢ* Choron, or Charan. The well-known place of this name in Mesopotamia is

here out of the question. But *Burckhardt* mentions (Travels, p. 350), among the decayed towns and villages of Ledja, a district to the south-east of Damascus (in the Trachonitis of the ancients), a place

حَرَّان, Charran, which answers very well to the situation of Maachah, and was probably what the Syrian translator had in view.

67. אָרַם בֵּית-רְחוֹב, *i. e.* Syria the wide or broad [country], בֵּית, denoting, according to the Syriac *usus loquendi*, a country, a territory. See *Michaelis*, loc. cit. p. 99.

68. اَرْض الْحَوْلَة. See *Schultens'* Geog. Index in Vita Saladini under *Haula*.

69. In the Monthly Correspondence, Vol. XVIII. p. 342.

70. بَحْرَة الْحَوْلَة.

71. Travels, p. 36, (of the original English.)

72. From the comparison above given, of the different statements in the historical books of the Old Testament, it will be seen how improbable is the opinion propounded by *Michaelis*, (de bello Nesibeno, p. 100,) that Aram Beth-Rechoboth was the Rechoboth on the Euphrates mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 37. Respecting that place, see the present chapter at note 111.

73. חֲמַת, *defence, protection*. [See Vol. I. p. 184, note.]

74. Comp. *Hase*, loc. cit. p. 257, et seqq.

75. ארפר, probably *stay, prop*, from the Arabic رفد *to support*.

76. חורן, حوران. This district perhaps took its name from the many caves (חור) to be found in it, and which are still used as dwellings by the inhabitants. See *Seetzen* in [*Zach's*] *Monatl. Correspond.* Vol. XVIII. p. 355, [and Vol. I. of the present work, p. 87, 282.]

77. Loc. cit. p. 285 [of the original Eng.]

78. גשור *a bridge*, like the Arab. جسر.

79. Loc. cit. p. 344.

80. Loc. cit. p. 315 [of the original Eng.]

81. *Gesenius* (Manual Lexicon, p. 159 of the second edit.) finds the name Geshur applied to three different countries. 1st, One in the country east of Jordan, inhabited by the Canaanites, Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5; xiii. 13. 2d, Another in the south of Palestine, in the neighbourhood of the Philistines, Josh. xiii. 2; 1 Sam. xxvii. 8. And 3d, A third in Syria, governed by a king, whose daughter David married, 2 Sam. iii. 3; xiii. 37; xv. 18. In his *Additions and Corrections* to his Lexicon, *Gesenius* thinks this last Geshur was perhaps the place now called Djisir Shogr, جسر شجر, or the Bridge of Shogr, a very strong fortress on the Orontes, (*Burckhardt*, p. 216, 512). But a glance at the map shews that that place lies too far north, (for it is between Hhamath and Antioch,) and too remote from the borders of the Israelitish territory, to correspond to

the above-mentioned references to it in the Old Testament. It is, moreover, not easy to distinguish between Geshur noticed in Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5; xiii. 13, and that of which mention is made in the second book of Samuel; which would lead to the conclusion, that there were but *two* countries of this name in the East.

82. Antiqq. XIX. 5, 1. Comp. Gesenius on *Burckhardt*, Part I. p. 537.

83. אבלי. See *Gesenius'* Manual Lexicon, p. 7 of the second edit.

84. Book v. ch. 18.

85. Description of the East, Part II. p. 169.

86. According to *Burckhardt*, loc. cit. p. 119. *Volney* gives a somewhat different division, Travels, Vol. II. p. 138, Eng. Transl. [He says: "After Sultan Selim I. had taken Syria from the Mamlouks, he subjected that province, like the rest of the empire, to the government of Viceroys or Pashas, invested with unlimited power. The more effectually to secure his authority, he divided the territory into five governments or pachalicks, which division still remains. These pachalics are those of Aleppo, Tripoly and Saide, lately removed to Acre; that of Damascus; and, lastly, that of Palestine, the seat of which is sometimes at Gaza, and sometimes at Jerusalem.] But *Burckhardt* expressly says, that changes have since that period (1784) taken place in the division of the pachalics. As to the division of Syria in the middle ages, see *Freytag's* tenth note to the *Selecta ex Historia Halebi*, edited by him, Paris 1816, p. 46.

87. Comp. *Mannert's* Geog. of the Greeks and Romans, Part VI. Div. I. p. 478, et seqq.

88. *Tabula Syriæ*, p. 27, Comp. p. 202, and *Goli*us on Alfargani, p. 282.

89. ^{سويداء} سويداء. Two other towns of this name, the one in Auranitis, the other in Mesopotamia, are mentioned by Yakut, in *Schultens' Index Geograph.* ad Vit. Saladin. under Sowaidda.^a

90. *Pococke's* Descript. of the East, Part II. p. 266. He has given a plan of the modern town in Plate XXV.

91. *Strabo*, XVI. 2, 4. Comp. *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 467, et seq.

92. *Tab. Syr.* p. 116.

93. *Procopius* de *Ædificiis*, II. 10, 5, et seqq. and V. 5.

94. انطاكية. See *Abulfeda*, loc. cit. p. 115. Comp. *Goli*us on Alfargani, p. 278, and *Schultens*, *Index Geogr.* under *Antiochia*.

95. The ruins and antiquities of Antioch have been minutely described by *Pococke*, loc. cit. p. 277, et seqq. Comp. *Volney*, vol. ii. p. 154, Eng. transl. [*Volney's* description follows: "Next to Aleppo, Antioch, called by the Arabs Antakia, claims our at-

^a *Reiske*, in his *Animadversiones ad Abulfedæ Tabulam Syriæ* (Kœhler's Edit. p. 202), says, "Sowaida and Sowaidia are different cities. The Sowaidiah in the text, is Seleucia on the Orontes; but Sowaida is a city of Mesopotamia, beyond the Euphrates."—M.

tention. This city, anciently renowned for the luxury of its inhabitants, is now no more than a ruinous town, whose houses, built with mud and sand, and narrow and miry streets, exhibit every appearance of misery and wretchedness. It is situated on the southern bank of the Orontes, at the extremity of an old decayed bridge, and is covered to the south by a mountain, upon the slope of which is a wall, built by the crusaders. The distance between the present town and this mountain may be about 400 yards, which space is occupied by gardens and heaps of rubbish, but presents nothing remarkable..... The plain of Antioch, though the soil is excellent, is uncultivated, and abandoned to the Turkomans; but the hills on the side of the Orontes, particularly opposite Serkin, abound in plantations of figs and olives, vines, and mulberry trees, which, a thing uncommon in Turkey, are planted in *quincunx*, and exhibit a landscape worthy our finest provinces.”]

96. Wallfahrten, p. 281.

97. *Pococke*, loc. cit. p. 281. *Richter*, p. 284.

98. חלבון, Χαλυβών, حَلَبْ. See *Abulfeda's Syria*,

p. 117. *Golius*, loc. cit. p. 270, and *Schultens*, Index Geogr. under *Haleb*.

99. Natural History of Aleppo, Part I. p. 103, of the Ger. Transl.

100. Comp. *Cellarius*, Notit. Orbis. Antiq. Vol. II. Lib. III. Cap. 12. Sect. 3, § 54.

101. A detailed and valuable account of this city,

has been given by *Russell*,^a in the work cited at note 99. See also *Pococke*, loc. cit. p. 219. *Volney*, loc. cit. Vol. II. p. 147, Eng. Transl. and *Richter*, loc. cit. p. 245.

102. *Richter*, p. 250.

103. רצף *i. e.* stone-pavement, a paved way. See the next note.

104. الرصافة. See *Abulfeda's Syr.* p. 119. The name signifies, as *Kehr* remarks, (Status Monarch. Asiat. Saracen. p. 21.) λιθόστρωτον. He says (at p. 10), in speaking of a part of the city of Bagdad, which bore that name: Et quia *lapidibus stratae erant viae*, peculiari nomine, quod aliis etiam oppidis, vicis, palatiisque fuit inditum, *Rusafa* fuit appellata. *Yakut* mentions, in his Dictionary of Geographical Synonyms, no fewer than *nine* towns of this name. See *Köhler's* addenda to his edition of *Abulfeda's Syria*, p. 19.

105. In the Philosophical Transactions for the months of November and December 1695, p. 151. "Nor had we travelled long after the sun was up,

^a *Dr. Alexander Russell* was Physician to the British Factory at Aleppo. His work first appeared in the year 1756; but an enlarged and much improved edition was given in 1794 by his brother *Dr. Patrick Russell*, (who had succeeded him at Aleppo,) in 2 vols. 4to. The title is unfortunate, and conveys an imperfect, not to say inaccurate idea of the contents of the book, which embraces almost everything of interest connected with eastern manners, and, as a whole is, one of the best productions of the kind in the English language. The brothers were natives of Scotland; the senior died in 1768, and the junior in 1805.—M.

before, by the help of a rising-ground, we discovered *Arsoffa*, the place whither we were tending, which gave us hopes we should quickly be there ; but having a dry tiresome plain to traverse, and the hot sun causing our mules a little to slacken their pace, 'twas after ten o'clock before we reached it : and which was more vexatious still, finding no water any where near, we were necessitated to proceed forward for the river Euphrates, which we found four hours distant from hence. *Arsoffa*, or, as the Arabs call it, *Arsoffa Emir*, seems to be the remains of a monastery, having no town nor village near it, and being one continued pile of building of an oblong figure, stretching long-ways east and west, and enclosing a very capacious area, etc.

106. תפסח, *i. e.* passage. [See Gesenius, under פסח.]

107. Comp. *Hase*, Regn. Davidic. et Salomon, p. 269, et seqq.

108. See *Xenophon's* Anabasis I. 4, and *Arrian's* Exped. Alex. III. 7.

109. V. 15.

110. Hist. Nat. V. 24.

111. רחבות חנהר *Streets, i. e.* the village or town on the river.

112. رحبة مالك بن طوق See *Schultens'* Index Geogr. under "Rahaba." Malek was one of the generals of the Calif Harun-er-Rashid. See *Abulfeda's* Annals. Tom. II. p. 245. Several towns of the name of Rahabah, are mentioned by *Freytag* in his notes to the Selecta ex Historia Halebi, (p. 124), from the Geographical Dictionary of *Soyuthi*.

113. *Travels*, p. 186.

114. *Theodoret* on Zech ix. 1. Ἡ δὲ Ἡμαθ νῦν Ἐπιφάνεια προσαγορευομένη. *Jerome*, in his *Quæstt.* in Genes. (ch. x. 15), says: “*Amath* usque ad nostrum tempus, tam a Syris quam ab Hebraeis, ita ut apud veteres dicta fuerat, appellatur. Hanc Macedones, qui post Alexandrum in Oriente regnaverunt, *Epiphaniam* nuncupaverunt. Nonnulli Antiochiam ita appellatam putant. Alii, licet non vere, tamen opinionem suam quasi verisimili vocabulo consolantes, Emath primam ab Antiochia mansionem Edessam pergentibus appellari putant.” And in his *Comment.* on Ezek. ch. xlvii. 15, 16, “*Emath*, quae nunc Epiphania nominatur, ab Antiocho, crudelissimo tyrannorum, nomine commutato; nam cognomentum habuit Ἐπιφάνης.” See also *Josephus* Archæol. I. 6, 2. Comp. *Michaelis* Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr. Ext. Tom. II. p. 52.

115. *Tab. Syriæ*, p. 108.

116. *Wallfahrten*, p. 231.

117. *Travels*, p. 249. Comp. *Pococke*, Part II. p. 209.

118. רבלה. The root signifies (in Arabic ر ب ل) *to be abundant, rich, fruitful*. It probably received its name from the fertility of the soil.

119. See *Bochart's* Geogr. Sacra, Part I. seu Phaleg. p. 468. Comp. *Michaelis* Suppl. ad Lexx. p. 2229.

120. תרמר and תרמר. The latter name, which seems the more ancient, is found in 1 Kings ix. 18 in the text (*Kethib*), but the former stands in the margin

(*Keri*). Having become the more usual designation, it is used in the later historical book (2 Chron. viii. 4) without any various reading.

121. According to the traditions of the Arabs, this city existed even before the time of Solomon. See *Schultens'* Index. Geogr. ad Vit. Saladin, under "Tadmora." In this case, the Hebrew word בנה, in 1 Kings ix. 18; 2 Chron. viii. 4, would denote *to rebuild, to restore*, as it often does. [See p. 68, above.]

122. "On the morning of the 19th November," says *Otto von Richter*, (*Wallfahrten*, p. 214,) "I found myself on a wide desert plain, between two ridges of low, bare, rugged hills on the north and south. They gradually contract the valley, and at the point where they meet lies Tadmor, at the commencement of an extensive flat, which runs in a north-easterly direction towards the Frat (the Euphrates). . . . Upwards of a league from Tadmor rises the fountain of Abulfauaris, the water of which was conveyed into the town by a mean and now ruined aqueduct. Comp. *Volney's Travels*, Vol. II.

123. ^{تدمر} or ^{تدمر} تدمر. See *Schultens* loc. cit.

124. *Histor. Nat. L. V. Cap. 25*, Palmira nobilis urbs situ, divitiis soli, et aquis amoenis, vasto undique ambitu arenis includit agros, ac velut terris exenta a rerum natura, privata sorte [i. e. sui juris] inter duo imperia summa, Romanorum Parthorumque, et prima in discordia semper utrimque cura.

125. See *Trebellius Pollio* (in the *Scriptorr. Hist. Aug.*) Gallieni duo Cap. 3, 13, and Triginta Tyranni, Cap. 14, 29. Comp. *Christoph. Cellarius Dissertat.*

de Imperio Palmyreno, Halle, 1693, reprinted there in 1708, 4to.

126. See *Rommel's* *Abulfedae Arabiae descriptio*, p. 98.

127. *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor in the Desert*, Lond. 1753, large fol.

128. בעל גר.

129. بعلبك. See *Schultens' Ind. Geogr.* under Baalbechum.

130. *Saturnal. L. I. Cap. 23, Assyrii* [i. e. *Syri*] quoque Solem sub nomine Jovis, quem Dia Heliopoliten cognominant, maximis caerimoniis celebrant in civitate, quae Heliopolis nuncupatur. Ejus Dei simulacrum sumtum est de oppido Aegypti, quod et ipsum Heliopolis appellatur, regnante apud Aegyptios Senemure; perlatumque est primum in eam per Opiam, legatum Deleboris, regis Assyriorum, sacerdotisque Aegyptios, quorum princeps fuit Partemetis, diuque habitum apud Assyrios, postea Heliopolim commigravit. Comp. *Lucian de Dea Syria*, § 5.

131. See *Gesenius' Comment. on Isaiah*, Part II. p. 283, 335, et seqq.

132. *Macrobius* loc. cit. Hunc vero eundem Jovem Solemque esse, cum ex ipso sacrorum ritu, tum ex habitu dignoscitur: simulacrum enim aureum specie imberbi instat, dextra elevata cum flagro in aurigae modum; laeva tenet fulmen et spicas, quae cuncta Jovis Solisque consociatam potentiam monstrant.

133. בעל המון.

134. See *Iken's Dissert. de Baal-Hamon et Baal*

Gad, in his Dissertt. philologico-theologg. T. I. p. 236. Comp. *Michaelis* Supplemm. ad Lexx. Hebr. p. 197 and 201. *J. L. Velthusen's* Amethyst, a contribution of Historical and Critical Researches on the Song of Solomon, p. 88. The last mentioned writer thinks with Iken and Schultens, that the second half of the name Baalbek (Bek) signifies, like the Arabic, بَك, *to press together, to crowd together*—"a dense crowd of people," and was thus synonymous with גר, *a troop*, and המון, *a multitude*, in the Hebrew names of this place, בעל גר and בעל המון. In that case, it may have received the designation of "Baal's crowd," from the great number of pilgrims that resorted thither. But it is a more probable conjecture (as above hinted), that *Bek* was formed from the Egyptian *Baki*, a town; and then Baal-bek would be a literal translation of the name Ἡλιόπολις.

135. See *Jablonsky's* Panth. Egypt. Part I. p. 163.

136. בעלה. Comp. *Michaelis's* Supplemm. p. 199.

137. See *Iken*, loc. cit. and *Volney*, II. p. 182.

138. *Otto von Richter's* Wallfahrten, p. 81, et seqq.

139. For the most complete description and finest views of Baalbek, as of Palmyra, (see note 127), we are indebted to the English travellers, *Wood* and *Dawkins*, in the work: *The Ruins of Baalbec, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelo-Syria, with a Journal from Palmyra to Baalbec*, London, 1757, large fol. Interesting views of some of these ruins will likewise be found in *Cassas's* *Pittoresque de la Syrie*. Comp. *Volney*, Vol. II. p. 282. [His words are: "Baalbec, celebrated by the Greeks and Latins, under the name

of *Heliopolis*, or the City of the Sun, is situated at the foot of Anti-Lebanon, precisely on the last rising ground where the mountain terminates in the plain. As we arrive from the south we discover the city at the distance of only a league and a half, behind a hedge of trees, over the verdant tops of which appears a white edging of domes and minarets. After an hour's journey we reached these trees, which are very fine walnuts; and soon after, crossing some ill cultivated gardens, by winding paths, arrived at the entrance of the city. We there perceive a ruined wall, flanked with square towers, which ascends the declivity to the right, and trace the precincts of the ancient city. This wall is only ten or twelve feet high, and permits us to have a view of those void spaces, and heaps of ruins, which are the invariable appendage of every Turkish city; but what principally attracts our attention, is a large edifice on the left, which, by its lofty walls and rich columns, manifestly appears to be one of those temples which antiquity has left for our admiration."]

140. Loc. cit. p. 86.

141. דרמשק, דמשק (in the Books of Chronicles),
 ܕܡܫܩ, ܕܡܫܩ. Ita vocata, says *Simonis Ono-*
mast. V. T. p. 439, ex אדם *rubuit*. Arab. دمس
rubrum fecit, et ex סמק Chald. et Syr. *rubuit* Arab.
 transpositis literis مشق in II. Conjug. *tinxit terrâ*
rubrâ, unde ܡܫܩ terra *rubra*. *Rubere* enim
 agrum Damascenum, ex quo creatus sit Adamus, com-
 munis est traditio. *Volney* says: (Travels, Vol. II.

p. 270.) “ In other respects, the soil, which is poor, gravelly, and of a reddish colour, is ill adapted for corn, but is on that account more suitable to fruits, which are here excellently flavoured.” Mountains of red ferruginous rock were likewise observed near Damascus by *Otto von Richter*, p. 685.

142. الشام.

143. Properly speaking they confine this designation to the vale of Gutah (القوطة), near Damascus. The three other paradises are the Valley of Bawan, the river Obollah, and Sogd, near Samarcand. See *D’Herbelot’s* Biblioth. Oriental. under “ Gennah;” *Abulfeda’s* Syria, p. 100; *Goliüs* on Alfargani, p. 120, 174, 178; and *Schultens’* Index Geogr. under “ Damascus.”

144. See *Schulz. Leitungen des Höchsten*, Part V. p. 423. *Otto von Richter*, p. 137.

145. בן-הדד, *i. e. the Son of Hadad*. The name Hadad probably denoted a Syro-Phœnician idol, which *Macrobius*, (Saturnal. Lib. I. cap. 23,) calls Adad, explaining it as signifying “ the Sun.” Comp. *Gesenius* in the Halle Encyclopædia. Part I. p. 257, under “ Adad.”

146. Comp. *J. G. Heyne* de Ethnarcha Aretæ, Arabum regis, Paulo Apostolo insidiante Dissert. I. II. Wittenberg, 1755, 4to.

147. See *Eckhel’s* Doctrina Numor. veter. Vol. III. p. 331.

148. See *Kantemir’s* Hist. of the Ottoman Empire, p. 235 of the Ger. Transl.^a

^a The author was Prince of Moldavia. There is an Eng.

149. Wallfahrten, p. 138, 149, 151.

150. Comp. *Pococke's* Descript. of the East. Part II. p. 174.

151. ^والمرج ^والغوطة. The former of these names signifies, *a level valley*. *J. D. Michaelis* is of opinion, (in his *Spicileg. Geogr. Hebræor. Exter.*, Part II. p. 126,) that the land of Uz mentioned in the Book of Job, was the Damascene valley of Gutah.^a But see the Prolegomena to *Rosenmüller's* Scholia on Job, p. 29, of the second edition.

152. Burckhardt, p. 446.

153. חובה: from חבה, to hide one's self; thus seeming to denote *a hiding-place, a lurking-hole*.

154. In Locis Hebraicis in Genesi.

155. Oriental Travels, p. 584.

156. *Büsching*, (*Geogr. of Asia*, p. 368 of the third edit.) mentions a place Yobar, to the north of Damascus, which he takes for the Hobah of Scripture. On the other hand, *Reland* (*Palæst.* p. 727,) thinks of a castle called Caucab, (كوكب) mentioned by Edrisi as being on the Lake of Tiberias. See Translation by *Tindal*, the Continuator of *Rapin*. Lond. 1734, fol.—*M*.

^a The sentiment in question is also that of *Bochart* in *Phaleg. Lib. II. Cap. viii.*, and of *Ilgen* on Job. One of *Rosenmüller's* reasons for rejecting it is, that the name غوطه is in Arabic a common appellative for vallies, being derived from غاط demersa fuit res; whence غابات, the plural of which is غوط, terra cava depressiorque. But this seems a very futile objection.—*M*.

Schultens in his Index Geograph. under “Caucheba.”

157. בית ערן.

158. See *Schulz* Leitungen des Höchstens. Part V. p. 458. *Korte's* Trav. p. 321. *Burckhardt*, p. 66 and 492.

159. Voyage de Syrie, Part I. p. 195.

160. بيت الحجّة. See *Burckhardt*, p. 100.

161. ברותי, probably synonymous with בארתי, *a well*.^a

162. Observations on the East. Part II. p. 210.

163. ברותה.

164. ^סבירות. So *Michaelis'* Supplem. ad Lexx. p. 232. But, on the other hand, see *Hase* Reg. David, et Solomon, p. 261.

165. Antiqq. V. 1, 8.

166. As is assumed by *Bachiene*. Descript. of Palestine, Part II. § 747.

167. כִּיּוֹן, in Amos v. 26, denotes the planet Saturn, like the Arabic كَيَوَان, whence *J. D. Michaelis* (loc. cit. p. 1225,) would pronounce the Hebrew name כִּיּוֹן. And he therefore conjectures, (p. 1233,) that in 1 Chron. xviii. 8, we should read כִּיּוֹן, a word of much the same meaning as כִּיּוֹן, Saturn. He then supposes the place mentioned in 1 Chron. xviii. 8, to have been the same as ברותי, (which, as he thinks,

^a Beeroth, בארות, was a town of Benjamin; בארתי, a Beerothithe, 2 Sam. iv. 2, 3. 1 Chron. ii. 39.—M.

was Berytus;) because, according to a tradition related by *Stephanus de Urbibus*, p. 164, that city was built by Saturn.—בֶּרְיָן, as the name of a town, would thus be equivalent to Saturnia, Saturnopolis. But we have shewn above, the improbability of בְּרֹתִי having been Berytus, and it is no less precarious to change בֶּרְיָן into בֶּרְיָן. *Hase* seems much nearer the truth when he says, (loc. cit. p. 260:)—*Con nulla alia urbs est, quam Conna, in Itinerario Antonini memorata media inter Laodicaeam et Heliopolim in jugo ipso Libani montis, et prope transitum Eleutheri fluvii. Magni adeo momenti locus, et transitum custodiens, unde non mirum, quod congesta magna armorum aerisque copia cum Hadad-Ezer munierit, quae tota praedae Davidi cessit.*

168. בטח.

169. טבהת. *Hase*, (loc. cit. p. 263,) thinks this a corruption of תפסה. See above at note 106.

170. סברית, the Dual of סבר *hope*, (in Chaldee.) *Simonis* in his *Onomastic*. V. T. p. 176, explains the name by *spes et fiducia* incolarum.

171. זפרון, from זִפְרָ to scent, hence זִפְרָ a fragrant garden.

172. חצר עינן, i. e. the court of a fountain.

173. צרר. צָ means the side of a hill. Perhaps the place had its name from lying on one of the slopes or ridges of Lebanon.

174. In his *Comment. on Ezek.* xlvii. 15.

175. חצר התיכון.

176. חתלון. *Simonis*, (loc. cit. p. 338,) explains it by involutio, tectio tuta, latibulum, ex Hebr.

חתל^{סו} involvit, Arab. ختل tegmen, involucrum, latibulum.

177. חילם, חלאם, *i. e.* according to *Simonis*, (p. 360,) *a great host*; perhaps more correctly *a stronghold*. *J. D. Michaelis*, (Suppl. p. 739,) looking to the Chaldee חילא explains it, “the valley or plain of Am.” Comp. Commentat. de bello Nesibeni, p. 111. *Hase*, (loc. cit. p. 262,) says: Occurrit inter loca Palmyrenae ditionis ultra ipsam illam urbem versus Euphratem *Cholle* in tabula Peutingeriana. In 2 Sam. x. 16, Luther incorrectly took חילם for the appellative חיל, with the suffix, and translated the words ויבאי חילם, “and they brought in their host.” But, at v. 17, he renders properly ויבא חלאמה, “and came to Helam.”

178. *Anton Aryda*, (انطون عريضة) in the second of his Arabic Dialogues in *Jahn's Arabic Chrestomathy*, p. 249. Comp. *Niebuhr's Travels*, Vol. II. p. 424.

APPENDIX

TO VOLUME SECOND.

No. I.—*Masúdi on the Site and History of Babel.*—(Comp. p. 1—27.)

THE following are Extracts from the General History of *Masúdi*, an early Mahomedan historian :—

“ The Fârat then flows on to Rakkah, to Rakkah, Hit, and Ambâr, at which point several canals are divided from the river; as, for instance, the canal of Isá, which, after passing beyond Baghdad, falls into the Diglah. It then winds towards the sites of Sûrâ, Kasr ebn Hobairah, Kûfah, Jâmiain, Ahmedabad, Albirs, and the mounds, &c. &c. Many of the most able and distinguished historians are of opinion that the first kings of Bâbil were those pristine monarchs of the world who first settled and civilized mankind, and that the first race of Persian potentates were their successors by conquest, as the empire of Rome increased on the subjection of the Greeks. They maintained, that the first of these Princes of Bâbil was Nemroûd the Mighty, whom they suppose to have reigned during sixty years, and to whom they attribute the excavation of the canals, in the province of Irâq, derived from the stream of the Farât. One of these is the celebrated canal of Kûthâ, on the road to Kûfah, between Kasr ebn Haḡairah and Bagh-

dad. The capital of the kingdom of Aferaidûn was Bâbil, which is one of the climates of the earth, so designated from the name proper to one of its towns. This town is situated on both banks of one of the canals derived from the Farât, in the province of Irâq, distant an hour's journey from the city named Jisr. i. Bâbil and the canal of Albirs; from which last named town the produce of the Birsæan looms, the cloths of Birs, derive their appellation. Near the town of Bâbil is an excavation usually known as the well of the prophet Daniel, which is much frequented both by Jews and Christians, on certain anniversary festivals peculiar to each sect. Any individual visiting this town cannot but be struck by the amazing mass of ruined structures thrown together in scarcely distinguishable heaps. The opinion is very prevalent that these are Hârût and Mârût, the angels mentioned in the Koran, in the passage which marks the fate and designation of Bâbil."

No. II.—*Mignan's Account of the Ruins of Ctesiphon and Seleucia* [El-Madâin] (Comp. p. 31, 95—98).—The site of these once celebrated cities was visited in 1827 by Captain Robert Mignan, who gives the following description (Travels in Chaldea. Lond. 1829, p. 69, et seq.):—"I crossed over to the right, or eastern bank [of the Tigris], when I was on the site of Ctesiphon; and immediately observed mounds, superficially covered with the same fragments and materials as I have already mentioned in describing those hillocks I had hitherto met with. This spot is called by the natives the 'Garden of Kisra.' The first mound, which was composed of furnace-burnt bricks as a foundation, and sun-dried, mixed up with chopped straw, for the superstructure, one course separated from another by irregular layers of reeds, extended from the bank of the river, in a northerly direction, for seven hundred and fifty feet; its height and thickness varied from thirty to thirty-six feet. The elevation of the wall that edged from out this mound, on the margin of the bank, was forty feet. It then formed an angle, and stretched away north-west for eight hundred yards, when there was a breach, or gap, one

hundred and thirty-five feet wide, probably once occupied by some grand gate of entrance. The wall, or rampart line, then recommences, and runs on the same bearings for seven hundred and fifty yards more, when we came to another break, which appeared to be the bed of a canal, as the stratum or channel, varied from fifteen to twenty feet deep, the breadth being one hundred and fifty yards, and therefore capable of admitting a very large body of water. The direction of the dry bed of this channel was north-east, and appeared to extend to an unbroken ridge of mounds running north-west and south-east at the distance of eight or nine miles. The high wall, already followed, embraces an extensive area, where no vestiges of former buildings exist, and runs to the verge of the river. Its summit and sides are covered with the remains of ancient building ; and it is astonishing, that, after the lapse of so many centuries, these walls appear to have lost nothing of their regular construction. From the bed of the canal, and a quarter of a mile to the north-west, over a space marked by memorials of the past, interspersed with patches of the camel thorn, stands the Tauk Kesra, a magnificent monument of antiquity, surprising the spectator with the perfect state of its preservation, after having braved the warring elements for so many ages ; without an emblem to throw any light upon its history ; without proof, or character to be traced on any brick or wall. This stupendous, stately fragment of ages long since forgot, is built of fine furnace-burnt bricks, each measuring twelve inches square by two and three quarters thick, and coated with cement. The full extent of the front, or eastern face, is three hundred feet. It is divided by a high semicircular arch, supported by walls sixteen feet thick, the arch itself making a span of eighty-six feet, and rising to the height of one hundred and three feet. The front of the building is ornamented and surmounted by four rows of small arched recesses, resembling in form the large one. The style and execution of these are most delicate, evincing a fertile invention and great experience in the architectural art. From the vestibule a hall extends to the depth of one hundred and fifty-six feet east and

west, where a wall forms the back of the building, a great portion of which, together with part of the roof, is broken down. In the centre of the wall, or western face of the structure, a doorway, measuring twenty-four feet high by twelve wide, leads to a contiguous heap of mounds, extending to the bank of the river, about a quarter of a mile distant. The general shape of these hillocks is elliptical, and their circumference two miles. To the right are fragments of walls, and broken masses of brickwork; to the left, and therefore to the south of the arch, are the remains of vast structures, which, though encumbered with heaps of earth, are yet sufficiently visible to fill the mind of the spectator with astonishment, at the thought that the destroying hand of Time could have failed in entirely concealing, from the inquiring eye, these wrecks of remote antiquity.^a I dug into the sides and bases of many of these mounds. Their foundations were invariably composed of the fire-burnt brick, while the sun-burnt formed the exterior or higher mass of each heap. I had the satisfaction of discovering a silver coin of one of the Parthian kings, a brass coin of Seleucus Nicator, and three talismanic perforated cylinders, which differ in no respect from the Babylonian. All are in an equally perfect state. There is no doubt that the natives often pick up coins of gold, silver, and copper, for which they always find a ready sale in Bagdad. Indeed, some of the wealthy Turks and Armenians, who are collecting for several French and German Consuls, hire people to go in search of coins, medals, and antique gems; and I am assured they never return to their employers empty-handed. . . . Having examined the remains of Ctesiphon, I crossed over to the site of the once magnificent and populous Greek city, and at every step had new occasion to muse upon the scene of desolation which presented itself, as far as the eye could reach. Time, violence, and repeated inundations have levelled every thing. I looked

^a The natives of this country assert, that the ruins are of the age of Nimrod. A celebrated antiquary, M. de Brosses, one of the Presidents of the Royal Academy in Paris, supposes that Calneh stood on the site of Ctesiphon.—*Memoires de l'Academie Royale*, tom. xxvii. p. 31.

in vain for monuments, pillars, aqueducts, and buildings. Bricks of every kind, mixed up with layers of straw ; varnished tiles, and pottery of every colour (the predominant one being blue) ; stones calcareous, sandy, and granite ; flint-glass, shells, and a variety of vitreous and nitrous substances ; these, and these alone, compose what remains of the once magnificent Seleucia. There is not a single entire building ; nothing but a small remnant of a wall and a few portions of decayed brick-work, is left to mark the foot of the spoiler, and bid us mourn in silence and solitude over fallen and departed grandeur. The traveller ought to visit Seleucia, previous to passing over to Ctesiphon ; by so doing, he will not expect to meet with any thing half so grand as the arch which rivets him to the spot, which, in this part of the world, in point of architectural beauty, is perfectly unique. This structure I surveyed first, so ardent was my solicitude to reach the porch of the building, after having caught a glimpse of it the evening before. With a mind full of its beauties, I passed on to Seleucia ; and there being no building, not even the fragment of one visible, I experienced, I must confess, great grief and disappointment. It is, however, surprising, that so much is still left to mark the sites of these once great cities, situated as they are in a country that is inundated for so many months in the season. Even at this moment, which is the driest time of the whole year, there are pools of water inhabited by large flocks of bitterns ; and herbage is scattered over the plain ; but on the site of Ctesiphon, the smallest insect under heaven would not find a single blade of grass wherein to hide itself, nor one drop of water to allay its thirst."

With this account the reader may compare that of *Rich*, in his work on Kourdistan, vol. ii. p. 395, 404, et seqq., or our foot-note at p. 98 of the present volume.

No. III.—*Oriental Traditions respecting Nimrod*, from D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, (Comp. p. 40, 104—107 :

" Les Arabes disent, que ce mot signifie la même chose que Mared ; c'est à dire, un rebelle et un revolté, nom qui convient fort bien à celui qui fut l'auteur de la première revolte

des hommes contre Dieu, par la structure qu'il entreprit de la Tour de Babel, et c'est celui que nous appellons Nembrod. Selon le Tarikh Montokheb, le Nembrod des Hebreux est le même que le Zhohac des Persiens, roy de la première dynastie des princes qui ont régné dans le monde depuis le déluge. Mais, selon l'auteur du Mefatih alóloun, Nembrod est le même que Caïcaous, second roy de la seconde dynastie de Perse, nommée des Caïanides. Ce même auteur donne au mot de Nemrod, ou Nemroud, une étymologie Persienne, à sçavoir, Nemurd, qui signifie celui qui ne mourt point ; et il dit, que ce surnom d'Immortel fut donné à Caïcaous, à cause des longues années qu'il regna. Car tous les Historiens de Perse le font regner plus de cent cinquante ans. Mirkhoud, dans son Raoudhat Alsafa, écrit conformément au sentiment de cet auteur que nous venons d'alléguer, que l'on a imputé à Caïcaous la folie de vouloir escalader le Ciel, ce qui convient assez bien avec le dessein extravagant de Nemrod et des autres constructeurs de la Tour de Babel, de la manière qu'il est couché dans les livres saints. Mais ce même auteur ajoute, qu'il n'y a guères d'apparence, que Caïcaous, qui a passé pour un Prince fort sage entre les Persans, ait eu une telle pensée. Car pour monter au Ciel, poursuit Mirkhoud, parlant en bon Musulman, il faudroit être monté sur un Al Borac, et conduit par Gabriel, ce qui étoit réservé par un privilege singulier à Mahomet. L'auteur du Lebtarikh dit, que Nemrod étoit Ben Kenâan, Ben Kham ; c'est à dire, fils de Chanaan et petit fils de Châm, fils de Noé, et qu'il étoit frère de Cous, surnommé en Persien Fil Dendan ; c'est à dire, Dent d'Elephant. Ce Cous, ou Caous, pourroit être Chus, fils de Chanaan, dont parle l'Ecriture, et duquel sont descendus les Abissins ou Ethiopiens, que les Juifs appellent encore aujourd'hui Conschüm. L'auteur du livre intitulé Mâlern fait le récit fabuleux d'une Histoire, de laquelle il prend Ali pour garant, dans les termes qui suivent. Nemrod ayant fait jeter Abraham, qui refusoit de le reconnoître pour le souverain Maître et le Dieu du Monde, dans une fournaise ardente, surpris de l'en voir sortir sans avoir souffert la moindre atteinte du feu, dit à ses courtisans : ' Je

veux aller au Ciel pour y voir ce Dieu si puissant qu'Abraham nous prêche.' Ces gens luy ayent représenté, que le Ceil estoit bien haut, et qu'il n'étoit pas facile d'y arriver, Nemrod ne se rendit point à leurs avis, et commanda en même tems, que l'on bâtit une tour la plus élevée qu'il se pourroit. On travailla trois ans entiers à ce bâtiment; et Nemrod étant monté jusqu'au plus haut, fut bien étonné, en regardant le Ciel, de le voir encore aussi éloigné de luy, que s'il ne s'en fut pas approché. Mais ce qui luy causa et donna plus de confusion, fut d'apprendre le lendemain, que cette haute tour avoit été renversée. Nemrod ne fut point rebuté cependant par un accident si étrange, et voulut que l'on rebâtît une autre plus forte et plus haute. Mais cette seconde tour eut le même destin que la première, ce qui fit prendre à cet insensé le dessein ridicule de se faire porter jusqu'au Ciel dans un coffre, tiré par quatre de ces oiseaux monstrueux, nommez Kerkes, dont les anciens auteurs de l'Orient font mention dans leurs romans. Le même auteur décrit exactement cette machine, de quelle manière ces oiseaux y étoient attachez, et dit enfin, que Nembrod s'étant apperçu de l'inutilité de son projet, après avoir erré et volé quelque tems par les airs, plongea si rudement en terre que la montagne ou ces oiseaux le jetterent, en fut ebranlée, suivant ce qui est porté dans l'Alcoran au chapitre intitulé Ibrahim, v. en kair mekrhom letezoul menho algebab ; c'est à dire, *les machines et les stratagèmes des impiés, vont jusqu'à faire trembler les montagnes*. Nembrod, après avoir vû echoüer une entreprise téméraire, et ne pouvant faire la guerre à Dieu même en personne, comme il avoit projeté, au lieu de reconnoître la puissance de ce souverain Maître et d'adorer son unité, persista toujours dans le sentiment impie qu'il avoit de luy même, et continua à maltraiter tous ceux qui adoroient une autre divinité que luy dans ses états. C'est ce qui fit que Dieu luy ôta, par la division et par la confusion des langues, la plus grande partie de ses sujets, et punit ceux qui demeurèrent attachez à luy, par une nuée de moucheronns qui les fit presque tous perir, selon le rapport de Demiathi. L'auteur du Lebab

ajoute, qu'un de ces mouchérons étant entré par les narines de Nembrod, penetra jusqu'à une des membranes de son cerveau, où grossissant de jour en jour, il luy causa une si grande douleur, qu'il étoit obligé de se faire battre le tête avec un maillet, pour pouvoir prendre quelque repos, et qu'il souffrit ce supplice pendant l'espace de quatre cent ans, Dieu voulant punir par la plus petite de ses créatures, celui qui se vantoit insolemment d'être le Maître de tout. Ebn Batrik dit que Nembrod étoit Mage et Sabien de religion, et que ce fut luy qui établit le premier le culte et l'adoration de feu. Il y a des historiens qui appellent les plus anciens rois des Babyloniens, qui ont succédé à Nembrod, Nemared ; c'est à dire, les Nembrodiens. Car ce mot de Nemared est pluriel Arabe de Nembrod, et signifie aussi dans la même langue des rebelles et des tyrans."—D'Herbelot, tom. iii. p. 32.

No. IV.—*Klaproth on the Kurds*.—(Comp. p. 120, 139), Julius Klaproth thus speaks of them :—"The Kurds and their language constitute the fourth grand division of the Indo-Germanic family. They inhabit Kurdistan, several provinces in the west and north of Persia, and are scattered through Mesopotamia, Syria, and the eastern districts of Asia Minor. They call themselves Kurds or Kurdmandji, which seems to be derived from the Persian root *kurd*, "strong, brave,"—a root likewise found in the Slavonic *gord* "proud," and in the Georgian, *kurd* a robber. Their language, which has a close affinity to the Persian in the vocabulary and grammar, contains many Shemitic words, which they have borrowed from their neighbours the Syrians and Chaldeans." He then gives a list of Kurdish words which he had collected at Awlabari, a suburb of Tiflis, which is partly inhabited by Kurds.^a—*Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta* (Paris, 1823, 4to.), p. 75, et seq.

No. V.—*Rich's Account of the Ruins of Nineveh*.—The following are the scattered notices given in his work on Koordis-

^a Rich has likewise given a Kurdish vocabulary, between which and Klaproth's, however, there is considerable discrepancy.

tan, vol. ii:—"At twenty minutes to ten we came to a large rampart, then to a hollow like a ditch, and then to another rampart, which my Mousul Turks called the beginning of Nineveh; and shortly after we reached another ditch and wall which seemed to indicate that Nineveh had a double wall. Under or in this second wall is a spring or well covered over with an arch of very ancient masonry, composed of large stones. The well is called Damlamajeh, and the inhabitants believe its water is efficacious in many complaints, not from its medicinal qualities, but from some superstition connected with it. I remained ten minutes at the well, and then rode on, passing through the area of Nineveh, under the village of Nebbi Yunus on our left hand. The walls of Nineveh on the east have become quite a concretion of pebbles, like the natural hills. At twenty-five minutes past ten we arrived at the banks of the Tigris, where we were ferried over to our place of residence during our stay at Mousul.—p. 26.

We first went to the village or little town of Nebbi Yunus, which contains about three hundred houses, and is built on an ancient artificial mount, the whole of which it does not cover. Its antiquity is well ascertained by the remains found on digging into it very deep; when fragments of bricks, whole bricks, and pieces of gypsum, covered with inscriptions, in the cuneiform character are found. I have many of these, one in particular which measures one foot four inches in thickness, covered with writing, that was dug up in this mound;^a and to-day we were shewn some fragments built up in the foundations of houses. One of these, a broken piece of gypsum, with cuneiform characters, was in the kitchen of a wretched house, and appeared to be part of the wall of a small passage which is said to reach far into the mount. Some people dug into it last year; but as it went under the houses, and they were afraid of undermining them, they closed it up again with rubbish, and only that portion of it which had been laid open, and forms part of a kitchen, is now visible. A little farther on, in a small room occupied

^a Now in the British Museum.

by the women of an inhabitant of the town, who very politely went out to allow us to inspect it at our leisure, was another inscription in very large cuneiform letters, on a piece of gypsum. It faces south, and runs east and west. Only about three feet of it are now open, though it is said to extend several yards west; and it has since been plastered over with mud. This inscription is the more curious, as it seems to occupy its original position. It is not much above the floor of the room,—is about two feet high, and below the level of the surface of the mound. The cuneiform characters are in their proper position. (P. 30, 31.)

From this we went to the mosque, which covers the tomb of Jonah;^a it is on the north and higher end of the mound, and is rather a considerable building. The principal dome is ribbed and of a conical shape; it stands on an octagonal base, eight feet each face: which is again placed on a square pediment, standing on the terrace that covers the building. The dome is of small circumference, whitened and crowned with a spike. The terrace, or flat roof, is about fifteen feet above the level of the mound on the south side, but on the north it rises forty feet, by measurement, above the mound; about thirty feet perpendicular height of which remains between the foot of the wall and level or plain of Nineveh; so that the perpendicular height of the highest part of the mound above the level of the plain is about fifty feet. There are several other domes, but they are semicircular and rise very little above the terrace. On the east side of the court of the mosque we were shown three very narrow ancient passages, one within the other, with several doors or apertures opening one into the other, which reminded me of the interior plan of the Zendan

^a There was formerly a Christian monastery where the pretended tomb of Jonah now stands, the Mahometan building being erected over the church, which is preserved entire; but no Christian, on any account, would be suffered to go near it. The Christians named their church after the tradition that Jonah preached in that place; but they deny his having been buried there. They believe, on the contrary, that after his mission was accomplished, he returned to Palestine.

at Dastagerda.^a The passages are quite dark, narrow, and vaulted, and appear much as if designed for the reception of dead bodies. They are said to be very ancient ; but of what age none of our conductors could specify ; and they extended much farther, but they have been stopped up.

We afterwards rode through the area of Nineveh to the first wall of the inclosure. It is a line of earth and gravel, out of which large hewn stones are dug, as out of all the walls of the area. Beyond this is a ditch still very regular, and easily traceable ; on the other side of which is another wall. Under this wall is the well of Damlamajeh, noticed before ; and beyond it having only a narrow ravine or ditch, there is still another, and, I believe, the largest wall.

The area of Nineveh, on a rough guess, is about one and a half to two miles broad, and four miles long ; extending a little way south of Nebbi Yunus. On the river or west side there are only remains of one wall ; and I observed the same at the north and south extremities, but on the east side there are the remains of three walls.

In this place, I cannot help remarking a passage in Jonah ; that prophet suffered grievously from the easterly wind. This is the *sherki* so much dreaded in all these countries, which is hot, stormy, and singularly relaxing and dispiriting. (p. 32-35.)

We also saw, in many parts, a flooring or pavement, on the surface of the mount of small stones, rammed down with earth. Pottery we also found, and other Babylonian fragments ; also bits of brick with bitumen adhering to them ; and I am informed that many bricks with bitumen are found in these ruins. A piece of fine brick or pottery, covered with exceedingly small and beautiful cuneiform writing, was found while we were looking about the mount. It is of the finest kind, yellowish, with a polished or hard surface, and apparently belonged to one of the largest cylinders.

^a See Journal of an Excursion to the Frontiers of S. Koordistan.

On the south side or face of the inclosure there are openings, the centre one of which, at least, seems to have been part of the original plan. A few yards from it, on the *outside* of the wall, near the Karakoosh road, my attention was called to a very curious object, seemingly of the remotest antiquity. Some people had been digging for stones, and had dug a hole in the ground, from which they had turned up many large hewn stones with bitumen adhering to them. I examined the excavation, which was about ten feet deep; and found it consisted of huge stones, laid in layers of bitumen and lime-mortar. I brought away some specimens of them sticking together. I also saw some layers of red clay, which were very thick, and had become as indurated as burnt brick; but there was not the least appearance of reeds or straw ever having been used. This mass appeared to have been a foundation or substructure. We found among the rubbish some pieces of coarse unglazed pottery. It would not have been possible to tell, from the appearance of the surface of the ground, that there had been building beneath—a water-course, full of pebbles, had even passed over it.

It is, therefore, very difficult to say to what an extent vestiges of building may exist outside the inclosures, the area of which may have been the royal quarter, but certainly was never sufficient for the city of Nineveh.

The vestiges or traces of building within the area are, with the exception of Nebbi Yunus and Koyunjuk, extremely slight; and I am now confirmed in the opinion I formed in viewing the ruins many years ago, that the inclosure formed only a part of the great city, probably either the citadel or royal precincts; or perhaps both, as the practice of fortifying the residence of the sovereign is of very ancient origin. In the east, to this day, the dwelling of the prince, and, indeed, of many governors, consists of a number of buildings inclosed in quite a separate quarter; and, from what we are told of the Babylonian palaces, and see of that of the Sefviviya^hs, and of the Sultan of Constantinople, this extent would not be too much

to assign for the residence of the Assyrian kings.^a (P. 37—44.)

No. VI.—*Wood and Volney on the Ruins of Palmyra.*—“About noon,” says Wood, “we arrived at the end of the plain, where the hills seemed to meet. We find between these hills a vale, through which an aqueduct (now ruined) formerly conveyed water to Palmyra. In this vale, to our right and left, were several square towers of a considerable height, which, upon a nearer approach, we found were the sepulchres of the ancient Palmyrenes. We had scarce passed these venerable monuments, than the hills opening discovered to us, all at once, the greatest quantity of ruins we had ever seen; and, behind them, towards the Euphrates, a flat waste as far as the eye could reach, without any object which shewed either life or motion. It is scarce possible to imagine any thing more striking than this view. So great a number of Corinthian pillars, with so little wall or solid building, afforded a most romantic variety of prospect.” Upon this Volney remarks:—

“Undoubtedly the effect of such a sight is not to be communicated. To have a just conception of the whole, the dimensions must be supplied by the imagination. This narrow space must be considered as a vast plain; those minute shafts as columns whose base alone exceeds the height of a man. The reader must represent to himself that range of erect columns, as occupying an extent of more than twenty-six hundred yards, and concealing a multitude of other edifices behind them. In this space we sometimes find a palace, of which nothing remains but the courts and walls; sometimes a temple, whose pedistyle is half thrown down; and now a portico, a gallery, or triumphal arch. Here stand groups of columns, whose

^a Rich follows the common tradition, in identifying these ruins with Nineveh. Mr. Macdonald Kinneir, however, thinks they belong to a city built in after ages.

symmetry is destroyed by the fall of many of them : there we see them ranged in rows of such length, that, similar to rows of trees, they deceive the sight, and assume the appearance of continued walls. If, from this striking scene, we cast our eyes upon the ground, another almost as varied presents itself : on all sides we behold nothing but subverted shafts, some whole, others shattered to pieces, or dislocated in their joints ; and, on which side soever we look, the earth is strewn with vast stones, half buried, with broken entablatures, damaged capitals, mutilated friezes, disfigured reliefs, effaced sculptures, violated tombs, and altars defiled by dust.”—*Volney’s Travels*, Eng. Trans. Vol. ii. p. 281.

No. VII.—*Barker’s Tour in Syria*—One of the most recent travellers in this interesting country is Mr. Barker, son of the late British Consul at Alexandria. An account of his journey was read at a meeting of the London Geographical Society on the 23d January 1837, and will probably appear in the next volume of their Transactions. He travelled through Syria in the year 1835, his rout being from Beirout to Batroun, across Mount Lebanon to Baalbek, and thence to the source of the Orontes ; he returned by Ainnete to Tripoli, and journeyed along the coast to the northward as far as Souwedia, the port of Antioch. He thus speaks of the scenery on Lebanon :—
 “ On the road to Bshirrai is the most magnificent scenery imaginable ; the poplar, the walnut, and the weeping willow form a mass of foliage which presents a striking contrast to the barren rocks which rise immediately above ; abundance of water streams in every direction, and exuberant vegetation denotes the fertility of the soil,—while before you the dark cedars, o’ertopped by the lofty Lebanon, its summits reaching the limits of perpetual snow, combine to form a scene which it rarely falls to the lot of a traveller to gaze upon.^a . . . Quitting

^a See the present volume, p. 210—215. Barker estimated the number of cedars at about 600, which, of course, included trees of all sizes ; for of the venerable grove of ancient cedars, Richardson (in 1818) and De Lamartine (in 1832) found only seven remaining.

the cedar forest, by an abrupt ascent, in an hour and a half I reached the limit of perpetual snow; and, descending on the other side, arrived in six hours at Deir el Ahmár, where the plain begins, at whose eastern extremity, and at the foot of Anti-Libanus, stand the ruins of Baalbek; here are evident traces of the building of Solomon beneath the superstructure of the Romans."

Mr. Barker is, perhaps, the first European who has visited the source of the Orontes. "It is distant about thirty miles to the north-east of Baalbek, and is a spot little known, and visited by few, if any, European travellers, chiefly owing to the danger attending it. But, being well acquainted with the native language, I trusted myself to a guide of the Metuali tribe, notorious as robbers, and for their hatred of all sects which differ from them in religion. Proceeding on a plain in an E.N.E. direction, along the foot of Anti-Libanus, in six hours I reached the village of Labroe, perched on a small hill, round the base of which runs a stream, which eventually falls into the Orontes. Six hours more to the eastward stands Fichi, beautifully situated at the foot of Anti-Libanus; and at Ras, a village at the extremity of the range, we leave the hills and incline more to the N.E. across the plain to the river of Labroe, which I reached in three hours. A ride of two hours along its banks brings you to the source of the Orontes, which gushes with violence from a rocky basin of a triangular form, measuring about fifty paces on each side, but so overgrown with a dense mass of foliage of oak, chestnut and willow, that it is almost concealed from view; the spring forms at once a considerable stream, and, from the many windings it takes in its northerly course, its occasional violence and frequent inundations has obtained from the natives the name of Aaszi, or "the rebel."^a

^a See the present volume, p. 217, and comp. the *Athenæum* for 1837, p. 65.

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